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THE

# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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THE

# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A NEW EDITION CAREFULLY REVISED, AND THE RECORDS COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINALS,

BY

NICHOLAS POCOCK, M.A.
LATE MICHEL FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

VOL. VI.

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# COLLECTION

OF

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## BOOK I.

### Number I. [Introduction, p. xiv.]

*The bull of pope Paul the IVth, annulling all the alienations of church lands.*

Rescissio alienationum et locationum quorumcunque bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis juris solemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum. Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla secunda Pauli quarti. [tom. i. p. 719.]

SIMILEM rescissionem fecit Leo X. et postea Julius III. quas prætermisi tanquam minus necessarias, et eas inseruit Rodoanus in suo Tractatu de Rebus Ecclesiasticis non alienandis et eandem edidit etiam Pius IV, quoad bona sedis, et cameræ apostolicæ in const. 104. *Apostolicæ.* Quamvis prius ipse hanc bullam generaliter reduxisset ad terminos juris communis in const. 11. *Provida.* Sed Pius V. ejusmodi bonorum omnium ecclesiasticorum alienationis rescissionem commisit collegio fabricæ Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in suâ const. 98, *Et si de singulis.*

De alienationibus istis, habes supra const. 1. Leonis I. fol. 1. et Pauli II. in const. 5. *Ambitiosæ.* fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus civitatum et terrarum sedis apostolicæ, ac bonorum quæ subditi papæ habent in ejus statu ecclesiastico, plene dicam in constitut. 1. Innocent. IX. *Quæ ab hâc.*

## PAULUS EPISCOPUS,

*servus servorum Dei. Ad futuram rei memoriam.*

Edita A.D. 1555. Symmachus papa bona ecclesiastica alienari prohibuit. in c.6. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan.

1. Injunctum nobis desuper, meritis licet imparibus, apostolicæ servitutis officium, mentem nostram continua pulsat instantia, ut bona ecclesiastica, quæ cæcâ hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur, nostræ operationis ministerio ad jus, et proprietatem eorum quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (sicut nobis innotuit) licet alias felicis recordationis Symmachus papa prædecessor noster prædium Ecclesiæ pro aliquâ necessitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura ecclesiæ in usumfructum dari prohibuerit, et lege hujusmodi omnes custodes astringi, ac donatorem, ac censuatorem, et venditorem honorem perdere, et qui præmissis subscriberet, anathema esse, cum eo qui daret, sive reciperet, nisi restituerentur, et quaslibet ecclesiasticas personas contradicere, et cum fructibus alienata reposcere posse, hocque non solum in Ecclesiâ Romanâ conservari, verum etiam in universis per provincias ecclesiis convenire voluerit.

[p. 720.] Paulus II. alienationes bonorum ecclesiasticorum, et ultra triennium locationes, &c. interdixit in const. cit. in rubr.

2. Et piæ memoriæ Paulus Papa II. etiam prædecessor noster omnium rerum, et bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipsorum dominium transferretur, ac concessionem, hypothecam, locationem, et conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum emphyteuticum, præterquam in casibus a jure permissis, ac de rebus et bonis in emphyteusim ab antiquo concedi solitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et si quis contra hujus posterioris prohibitionis seriem, de bonis et rebus eisdem quicquam alienare præsumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, concessio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujusmodi nullius omnino essent roboris, vel momenti, et tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, et bona reciperet, sententiam excommunicationis incurreret, et nihilominus res et bona alienata hujusmodi, ad ecclesias, monasteria, et loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

Alienationes tamen multæ fac-

3. Nihilominus a nonnullis annis citra diversæ personæ, tam seculares quam ecclesiasticæ, complura castra, terras, oppida,

civitates, et loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diversarum cathedralium; etiam metropolitanarum et aliarum ecclesiarum, nec non monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum regularium locorum, ac hospitalium, et aliorum piorum locorum, prætextu diversarum alienationum, eis de castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis prædictis in evidens damnum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, domorum, hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum, seu alias non servatis solemnitatibus a jure requisitis factarum occupaverint, et occupata detinuerint, et detineant de præsenti, ac ex inde factum sit, ut non solum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et domorum prælati, ac hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum hujusmodi rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus et proventibus castrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, et locorum hujusmodi, ecclesias, monasteria, et domos, hospitalia, et alia loca prædicta gubernabant, et illustrabant, ac eorum ministris alimoniam præbebant, notabiliter sint damnificati, verum etiam Romanus Pontifex qui antea egenis, et miserabilibus personis, præsertim nobilibus ad hanc almam urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde subministrare consueverat, vix se et familiam suam sustentare, nedum aliis alimenta subministrare possit, in divinæ majestatis offensam, et ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Christi fidelium scandalum.

tæ fuerunt in damnum ecclesiarum, vel non servatis solemnitatibus.

4. Nos præmissa conniventibus oculis pertransire nequeuntes, quinimmo cupientes eis, quantum cum Deo possumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, et ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas alienationes, et in emphyteusim, seu censum perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, seu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel concessiones, seu permutationes, hypothecas, et obligationes, de quibus castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, seu rebus, et juribus, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus ejusdem Romanæ, et quarumcunque cathedralium, etiam metropolitanarum et aliarum ecclesiarum, necnon monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum regularium locorum, et quorumvis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, cum curâ et sine curâ, secularium, et quorumvis ordinum regularium, necnon hospitalium et aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quoscunque etiam Romanos Pontifices, prædecessores nostros, seu eorum auctori-

Ideo hic pont. alias rescindit, et annullat.

tate, vel mandato, camerarios suos, et clericos cameræ apostolicæ præsidentes, ac quosvis ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, et domorum prælatos, et beneficiatos, necnon hospitalium, et aliorum regularium, et piorum locorum rectores, cujuscunque dignitatis, statûs gradûs, ordinis, et conditionis existentes, etiam si cardinalatûs honore pollerent, in damnum Ecclesiæ, seu non servatis solemnitatibus a jure requisitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, et contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos, et celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, et quantumvis longâ temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possint, ac ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ favorem, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, præsentibus pro expressis habentes, apostolicâ auctoritate, tenore præsentium rescindimus, irritamus, cassamus, et annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro rescissis, irritis, cassis, et nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi volumus.

Detentores que debere relaxare bona occupata, et fructus restituere declarat.

5. Ipsosque detentores ad castra, terras, oppida, civitates, et loca occupata, ac bona, res, et jura prædicta Romanæ et cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis ac aliis ecclesiis, necnon monasteriis, domibus, hospitalibus, et beneficiis, ac regularibus, et piis locis relaxandum, et de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in posterum percipiendis, realiter satisfaciendum teneri, et ad id etiam sententiis, censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibusque aliis opportunis, juris et facti, remediis cogi, et compelli posse.

Decretum irritans.

6. Sicque in præmissis omnibus et singulis per quoscunque judices, et commissarios, quâvis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum palatii apostolici auditores, et ipsius Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinales, ac eorum collegium in quâvis causâ, et instantiâ, sublatâ eis et eorum cuilibet quâvis aliter judicandi, et interpretandi auctoritate, et facultate, judicari, et diffiniri debere ac si secus super his a quoquam quâvis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum et inane decernimus.

Clausulæ derogatoriæ.

7. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c.

D. P an. 1. die 12. Julii.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1555. pridie idus Julii, pontificatûs nostri anno primo.

## Number II. [p. 17.]

*A letter of queen Catharine's to king Henry, upon the defeat of James the IVth, king of Scotland. An original.*

6 SIR,

My lord Havard hath sent me a letter open to your grace within one of mine, by the which ye shall see at length the great victory that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence: and for this cause it is no need herein to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking this battle hath been to your grace and all your realm the greatest honour that could be, and more than should you win all the crown of Fraunce: thanked be God of it, and I am sure your grace forgetteth not to do this, which shall be cause to send you many more such great victories, as I trust he shall do. Vespasian. F. iii. fol. 15.

My husband, for hastiness with Rogecrosse, I could not send your grace the piece of the king of Scots' coat, which John Glyn now bringeth; in this your grace shall see, how I can keep my promise: sending you for your banners a king's coat. I thought to send himself to you, but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it: it should have been better for him to have been in peace than to have this reward; all that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surroy, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in the burying of the king of Scots' body, for he hath written to me so; with the next messenger your grace's pleasure may be herein known; and with this I make an end, praying God to send you home shortly: for without this no joy here can be accomplished: and for the same I pray and now go I to our lady at Walsingham, that I promised so long ago to see.

At Woborne the 16 day of September.

I send your grace herein a bill found in a Scottyshe man's purse, of such things as the French king sent to the said king of Scots to make war against you: beseeching you to send Matthew hither as soon this messenger cometh to bring me tidings from your grace.

Your humble wife and true servant

Katarine.

## Number III. [p. 18.]

*A letter*[1] *of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, with a copy of his book for the pope. An original.*

Paper-Office.

SIR,

THESE shall be only to advertise your grace that at this present time I do send Mr. Tate[2] unto your highness with the book bound and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the pope's holiness, with a memorial of such other, as be also to be sent by him with his authentic bulls to all other princes and universities. And albeit, sir, this book is right honourable, pleasant, and fair, yet I assure your grace, that which Hall hath written (which within four days will be perfected) is far more excellent and princely: and shall long continue for your perpetual memory whereof your grace shall be more plenarily informed by the said Mr. Tate[2]. I do send also unto your highness the choice of certain verses to be written in the book to be sent to the pope of your own hand: with the subscription of your name to remain *in archivis ecclesiæ ad perpetuam et immortalem vestræ magestatis gloriam, laudem et memoriam*, by your

Most humble chaplain,

T. Carlis. Ebor.

[1] [Neither this nor the following letter can now be found in the State Paper Office.]

[2] [As this letter has not been found, this name has been left as Burnet printed it. The editor has not met with this name elsewhere in the correspondence of Wolsey. The reading in the text is perhaps a mistake for Tuke, the person meant being in all probability Brian Tuke, cardinal Wolsey's secretary; See State Papers, vol. i. pp. 115, 134, 157, 287, 292, 333, 341, 385, &c. &c.]

## Number IV. [p. 18.]

*A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, about foreign news; and concerning Luther's answer to the king's book. An original.*

SIR,

AFTER my most humble and lowly recommendations, these shall be to advertise your highness that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not come any confirmation either from Rome, Venice, Italy, France or Flanders of the late news, which was sent from the archduke to the lady Margaret: whereof by many other letters I advertised your grace. So that now the said news be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the bragging vaunts of the Spaniards be so calmed that they not only account such money as they have hitherto laid upon the said news to be thereby lost, but also they dare not now adventure five four or three for a hundred. Howbeit sir I do not a little marvel that since the seventh day of the last
8 month in the which it was written that the feat against the Venetians should be done, there be more letters come either from France, Rome, Venyse or Italy. It is bruited in Flanders that Pavy by dedition should be delivered to the said Venetians' hands, which if it be true your grace shall shortly hear of the Spaniards' total extermination out of Italy.

I forbear, sir, to despatch your letters to the cardinal of Maguncc and the duke George of Saxe: because I have not as yet neither Luther's original letters, which were very necessary to be sent to the pope's holiness, nor also any copy thereof, which must need be sent with your answer to the said cardinal and duke. It may be your pleasure to take orders that the said original letter, or copy thereof, may be sent unto me with diligence. Other news I have none to signify unto your highness at this present time, but as other shall occur I shall not fail to advertise your grace of the same accordingly.

At your grace's manor of Hampton-court the fourth day of August by your

Most humble chaplain

T. Carlis. Ebor.

*To the king's most noble grace, defender of the faith.*

## Number V. [p. 18.]

*A letter*[2] *of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, sent with letters that the king was to write to the emperor. An original.*

Sir,

Paper-Office. [two copies, also ap. State Papers, vol. i. p. 25.]

[According to my writing yesterday sent your grace from Caunterbury, I have this day demoryng at Dover, and stopped from passage by storms and contrariety of winds, not only devised a book containing the number of six thousand archers with their captains and the names of the persons by whom the said archers shall be prepared and put in readiness, but also conceived the minute of a letter to be sent to the said persons for making the said preparation and certifying your grace of the number to them, and every of them, appointed by a certain day, like as by the contents and tenure of the said book and minute ye shall perceive more at large, remitting the further ordering of those matters to your high and great wisdom.] And forasmuch as at my coming to your town of Calais, I suppose I shall be greatly pressed to repair to the emperor's presence, which to do without your letters, written with your own hand, I cannot conveniently do, therefore I have devised two short letters, the one to the said emperor, and the other to my lady, beseeching your grace to take the pain to write and send the same unto me by this bearer; whom I purposely send at this time to your grace, surely to bring the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said letters in a readiness, yet I shall never the rather advance my journey towards him till such time as I shall see opportunity: and that I have taken some convenient order, with the ambassadors of Fraunce for avoiding of all jealousy and suspicion: and as I shall proceed with the ambassadors on both parties, and find them disposed, so shall I advertise your grace with all diligence from time to time. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal estate.

At Dover the first day of August by your

Most humble chaplain

T. Car[lis]. Ebor.

*To the king's grace.*

9 Number VI. [p. 79.]

*A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to the king, concerning the emperor's firmness to him. An original* [*holograph*].

SYRE,

THESE written with mine own hand shall be only to advertise your grace, what I do perceive and see in the emperor's own person, which I assure your grace for his age is very wise and well understanding his affairs: right cold and temperate in speech, with assured manner, couching his words right well and to good purpose when he doth speak: and undoubtedly by all appearance he shall prove a very wise man, greatly inclined to truth and observance of his promise; determined not only fastly, wholly, and entirely for ever, from henceforth to be joined with your grace, leaving all other practice and intelligence apart: but also in all his affairs to take and follow your counsel and advice: and no thing to do without the same, and like as your grace hath your singular affiance in me, putting the burden of your affairs on my shoulders, though I knowledge myself far unmeet for the same; so he is determined to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not only bounden himself to me apart, twice or thrice by his faith and troth given in my hand; but also he hath to every one of your privy council in most constant wise declared the same, in such manner and fashion as we all may perceive that the same proceedeth of his heart, without colour, dissimulation or fiction. Wherefore, syre, ye have cause to give thanks to Almighty God, which hath given you grace so to order and convey your affairs, that you be not only the ruler of this your realm, which is in an angle of the world; but also by your wisdom and counsel Spayne, Itally, Almayne, and these Low Countries, which is the greatest part of Crystendume, shall be ruled and governed. And as for Frawnce, this knot now being assuredly knit, shall not fail to do as your grace shall command. What honour this is to your highness I doubt not but that your

Paper-Office. [also ap. State Papers, vol. vi. p. 85.]

grace of your high wisdom can right well consider; giving most hearty thanks to Almighty God for the same accordingly, beseeching your grace most humbly so to do, whereby this thing thus honourably commenced shall not fail to your great exultation, to come to the desired end: to the attaining whereof I shall employ my poor person, wit, experience, substance and blood.

From Gravelyng the 28th day of August, with the rude hand of your

Most humble chaplain

T. Car[lis]. Ebor.

*To the king's grace's own hands only.*

10 ## Number VII. [p. 80.]

*The first*[3] *letter of cardinal Wolsey to king Henry, about his election to the popedom upon Adrian's death. From the originals lent me by sir William Cook.*

[To the king's most noble grace, defensor of the faith.]

SIR,

IT may like your highness to understand I have this hour received letters from your orators resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how the xivth day of this instant month it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holiness to his mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon. And in what train the matters there were at that time for election of the future pope, your highness shall perceive by the letters of your said orators, which I send unto the same at this time, whereby appeareth that mine absence from thence shall be the only obstacle (if any be) in election of me to that dignity; albeit there is no great semblance that the college of cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry factions that be among themselves, for which cause, though afore God, I repute myself right unmeet and unhable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to demore, continue and end my life with your grace, for doing of such poor service as may be to your honour and wealth of this your realm, than to be ten popes; yet nevertheless, remembering what mind and opinion your grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honour, benefit,

[3] [These three letters, together with that in Number xiii, were copied from the original by Henry Wharton, and are amongst his MSS. at Lambeth. He says, 'The three following letters of cardinal Wolsey to Henry viii. concerning his attempts to be chosen pope, are transcribed from the very originals, now in the hands of sir William Cook, of Norfolk. They are also printed in Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, from copies in the duke of Grafton's library. The editor has been unable to trace the originals, but there can be no doubt of the correctness of the text, which has been given from a collation of all the three copies. Wharton's was by far the most correctly done. Lord Herbert had probably seen these letters. See p. 59 of his History of Henry the VIIIth.]

and advancement of your affairs in time coming: and supposing verily that your highness persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions commissions and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Mr. Pace for that purpose: and the same I shall send to your grace by the next post, whom it may like to do farther therein as shall stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform myself accordingly. And to the intent it may appear farther to your grace what mind and determination they be of, towards mine advancement, which as your orators write, have now at this present time the principal authority and chief stroke in the election of the pope, making in manner *triumviratum*, I send unto your highness their several letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord that such one may be chosen as may be to the honour of God, the weal of Christ's church, and the benefit of all Christendom. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal estate:

At the More the last day of September, by your

Most humble chaplain

T. Carlis. Ebor.

11

## Number VIII. [p. 80.]

*The second letter of cardinal Wolsey to the king, about the succession to the popedom.*

[*To the king's most noble grace, defensor of the faith.*]

Sir,

It may like your grace to understand that ensuing the tenor of my letters sent unto your highness yesterday, I have devised such commissions and letters to be sent unto your counsellors the bishop of Bath, Mr. Richard Pace, and Maister Thomas Hanibal, jointly and severally, as at the last time of vacation of the papal dignity were delivered unto the said Mr. Richard Pace; for the preferment either of me, or (that failing) of the cardinal de Medicis unto the same, which letters and commissions if it stand with your gracious pleasure to have that matter set forth, it may like your highness of your benign grace and goodness to sign, so to be sent to the court of Rome in such diligence as the importance of the same, with the brevity of the time doth necessarily require. And to the intent also that the emperor may the more effectually and speedily concur with your highness for the furtherance hereof, albeit I suppose verily that ensuing the conferences and communications which he hath had with your grace in that behalf, he hath not pretermitted before this time to advance the same, yet nevertheless for the more acceleration of his furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar letter in the name of your grace to be directed unto his majesty, which if it may please your highness to take the pain for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your grace and the said emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent, and virtuous purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such effect may ensue thereof, as may be to his pleasure, the contentation of your highness, the weal and exaltation of your most royal estate, realm and affairs, and

howsoever the matter shall chance, I shall no less acknowledge myself obliged and bounden far above any my deserts unto your highness, than if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in thought aspire, but to do honour, good and service unto your noble person and this your realm. And thus Jhesu preserve your most noble and royal estate.

At the More the first day of October, by your

Most humble chaplain

T. Carlis. Ebor.

12 Number IX. [p. 20.]

*The third letter of cardinal Wolsey; giving an account of the election of cardinal Medici to be pope.*

[*To the king's most noble grace Defensor of the Faith.*]

SIR,

AFTER my most humble and lowly recommendations, this shall be only to advertise your highness that after great and long altercation and contrariety which hath depended between the cardinals in the conclave, they at last fully resolved and determined (the faction of France abandoned) to elect and choose either my lord cardinal de Medicis or me, which deliberation coming to the knowledge of the nobles and citizens of Rome, they alledging that the affairs of Italy being in the train, as they then were, It should be to the extreme danger thereof to choose a person absent, which could not ne might in time come to put remedy unto the same, made sundry great exclamations at the conclave-window, whereby the cardinals being in fear not only of the inconvenience like to ensue unto Italy, but also of their own persons, albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet for eschewing the said danger and murmur, by inspiration of the Holy Goste, without further difficulty of business the 19th day of the last month in the morning elected and chose the said cardinal de Medicis, who immediately was published pope, and hath taken the name of Clement the VII$^{th}$. Of which good and fortunate news sir, your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God: forasmuch as not only he is a perfect and faithful friend to the same, but that also much the rather by your means he hath attained to this dignity. And for my part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my person, knowing his excellent qualities, most meet for the same; and how great and sure a friend your grace and the emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a father, by whose assumption unto that dignity, not only your and the said emperor's affairs, but also all Christendom shall undoubt-

edly come to much better and more prosperous perfection: like as upon the first knowledge thereof the Frenchmen be clearly departed from Myllayn, and passed a river towards France called Tycino, trusting that the next news which shall come from thence shall be of their arrival at home, wherein as I shall have further knowledge, so I shall advertise your highness thereof accordingly, And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate.

At my poor house beside Westminster the 6th day of December, by your

most humble chaplain

T. Car$^{lis}$. Ebor.

13

## Number X. [p. 29.]

*A remarkable passage in sir Thomas More's Utopia, left out in the latter editions.*

Cæterum theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in sacerdotes ac monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut jam ipse quoque cæperit ludere, homo alioqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, parasitus, hoc jam curatum est. Nam cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis, quum statueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. Nam vos estis errones maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum conjectis in cardinalem oculis, cum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est, atque incanduit, ut nec a conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, et filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è scripturâ sacrâ. Jam scurra serio scurrari cæpit. Et erat planè in suâ palæstrâ. Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientiâ vestrâ possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor, inquit, furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini et nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater a cardinale suaviter, ut suos affectus compesceret, non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zelo, sicut debeo. Nam viri sancti habuerunt bonum zelum, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum Dei, zelum calvi sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto et ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem sapientius nam Solomon ipse sapientissimus dicit: responde stulto secundum stulticiam ejus, sicut ego nunc facio, et demonstro ei foveam in quam cadet, nisi bene præcaveat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelum calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? et etiam habemus bullam papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos, sunt excommunicati.

[Signat. d. 1.]

[Allusit ad illud Persianum: Italo perfusus aceto.]

[Ut servat decorum in narratione.]

[Apparet fratris ob imperitiam zelus abusus neutro genere sicut hoc scelus.]

A 14

# COLLECTION

OF

# RECORDS, &c.

## BOOK II.

### Number XI. [p. 34.]

*A letter of the pope's upon his captivity, to cardinal Wolsey. An original.*

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. ix. [fol. 111.]

DILECTE fili noster, Calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne explicari nequeat tuæ circumspectioni per dilectum filium equitem Casalium referetur qui et interfuit ipse omnibus, et filium nobis amantissimum exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendit. Nos in tanto constituti dolore et luctu, unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ circumspectionis apud illum Serenissimum Regem auctoritate et ipsius regis erga nos et Sanctam ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestrâ consuetudine et bonitate Sanctam ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis: sicut ex eodem equite atque ex nuntio nostro omni alio præsidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget.

Datum in arce S. Angeli sextâ Junii 1527. J.

[Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ Cardinali Eboracensi, in Angliâ legato nostro.]

## Number XII. [p. 35.]

*A part of cardinal Wolsey's letter*[1] *to the king concerning his marriage. Taken from the original.*

WE daily and hourly musing and thinking on your grace's great and secret affair, and how the same may come to good effect and desired end, as well for the deliverance of your grace out of the thrauld pensive and dolorous life that the same is in, as for the continuance of your health and the surety of your realm and succession, considering also that the pope's consent, or his holiness detained in captivity, the authority of the cardinals now to be convoked into France equivalent thereunto, must concur for approbation of such process as I shall make in that behalf; and that if the queen shall fortune, which it is to be supposed she will do, either appeal or utterly decline from my jurisdiction (one of the said authorities is also necessarily requisite) I have none other thought ne study but how in available manner the same may be attained. And after long discussion and debating with myself, I finally am reduced and resolved to two points: the one is that the pope's consent cannot be obtained and had in this case, unless his deliverance out of captivity be first procured: the other is that the cardinals can nothing do in this behalf, unless there be by them consultation and order taken, what shall be done *in administratione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante dictâ captivitate summi pontificis.* Cotton library, Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 146.

As touching the restitution of the pope to liberty, the state of the present affairs considered, the most prompt sure and ready way is, by conclusion of the peace betwixt the emperor and the French king: for the advancement and setting forward whereof I shall put myself in extreme devor, and by all possible means induce and persuade the said French king to

[1] [This letter is printed at full length in State Papers, vol. i. p. 230, and is dated 'From Abavyl the 29th day of July,' 1527. The variations are material. Probably this is only a rough draft. The editor of the State Papers has taken no notice of this.]

strain himself and condescend to as much of the emperor's demands as may stand with reason and surety of his and your grace's affairs; moving him farther, that forasmuch as the emperor taketh your highness as a mediator making fair demonstration in words, that he will at your contemplation and arbitre, not only declare the bottom of his mind concerning his demands, but also remit and relent in the same, he will be contented that your grace forbearing the intimation of hostility may in the managing of the said peace and inducing the emperor to reasonable conditions, be so taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary until such time as the conducing of the said peace shall be clearly desperate: whereby if the said French king can be induced thereunto, may in the mean season use the benefit of their intercourse in the emperor's Low-Countries: not omitting nevertheless for the time of soliciting the said peace, the diligent zeal and effectual execution of the sword by Monsieur de Lautrek in the parties of Italy: whereby your grace's said mediation shall be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effect, whereupon might ensue the pope's deliverance, by whose authority and consent your grace's affair should take most sure, honourable, effectual and substantial end, and who
[fol. 147.] I doubt not considering your grace's gratitude, would facilely be induced to do all things therein that might be to your grace's good satisfaction and purpose, then and in that case there is none other remedy but the convocation of the said cardinals; who as I am informed will not ne can conveniently convene in any other place but at Avinion, where the administration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been in semblable cases heretofore exercised. To the which place if the said cardinals can be induced to come, your highness being so contented, I purpose also to repair, not sparing any labour, travail or pain in my body, charges or expenses, to do service unto your grace in that behalf; according to my most bounden duty and hearty desire, there to consult and devise with them for the governance and administration of the authority of the church during the said captivity: which shall be a good ground and fundament for the effectual execution of your grace's secret affair.

And forasmuch as thus repairing to Avinion I shall be near to the emperor's confines, and within an hundred English miles of Parpinian which is a commodious and convenient place to come and treat with the emperor's person, I think in my poor opinion that the conducing of peace by your grace's mediation not being desperate, nor intimation of hostility made on your behalf, it should much confer as well for the deliverance of the pope, as for concluding of the peace between the French king
16 and the emperor, if his majesty can be so contented that a meeting might be between him, my lady the French king's mother, and me at the said Parpinian; to the which[2]———

*This is all in the copy written in cardinal Wolsey's hand.*

[2] [For the conclusion of this letter, as it was finally written and sent to the king, see State Papers, vol. i. pp. 232, 233. It is superscribed, To the King's most noble grace, Defensour of the Faith.]

## Number XIII. [p. 35.]

*A letter*[4] *written by king Henry VIII. to cardinal Wolsey, recalling him home.*

Among sir W. Cook's papers.

My lord this shall be to thank you of your great pains and travail which you have sustained since your departure hence, for our business and causes: wherein you have done to us no little honour, pleasure and profit, and to our realm an infinite goodness; which service cannot be by a kind master forgotten, of which fault I trust I shall never be accused, especially to you ward which so laboriously do serve me. Furthermore because as yet since the pope's captivity we never sent to salute him, nor have no man resident there to advertise us of the affairs there; and also lest the queen should prevent us by the emperor's means in our great matter; we think it meet to send this bearer thither, of whose truth and sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him such instructions and commissions as shall be for our affairs there requisite: and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our affairs there may have some stay. No more at this time, but that greatly I desire your return home, for here we have great lack of you, and that you give full credence to my secretary this bearer.

Written with the hand of your loving sovereign lord and friend

HENRY R.[5]

[4] [This letter was delivered by Knight to Wolsey, Sept. 10, as appears from Knight's letter to the king, printed in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 1. It was answered by Wolsey from Compiegne on the 13th of September, 1527. The answer is printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 277.]

[5] [This letter was copied by Wharton from the original; there is no variation in the two copies, beyond a few differences in spelling.]

## Number XIV. [p. 41.]

*A letter from Rome by Gardiner to king Henry, setting forth the pope's artifices. An original [holograph].*

Pleaseth it your majesty to be advertised that endeavouring ourselves to the best of our powers, all jointly and I myself apart applying all my poor wit and learning to attain at the pope's hand some part of the accomplishment of your highness' desires, finally have nothing prevailed: but now see it called in question whether the authority given to the legates there should be revoked or no. The circumstance whereof and what hath been done and said therein, your highness shall understand by our common letters which we have written to
17 my lord legate's grace[6], but to say as I conjecture, I think that matter was moved but for a stop of our other suits, and that it is not earnestly meant: and albeit there is mention of the queen in that matter as though she should have a proctor for the same, yet the pope two days before, in another communication said that the emperor had advertised him, how the queen would do nothing in this matter, in saying ne speaking to any man for the let delay or hindrance of this matter, but as your highness shall will and command her to do: and that the emperor said, he would therefore more earnestly look unto the cause himself. I marvelled much when the pope said this, and methought he spake it as though he would we should signify the same unto your highness, and I noted it the more, for because your highness had commanded me to enquire out who should be here the queen's proctor: and it seemed spoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt thereof. But whither the pope hath this written out of Spain or out of England, I wot not what to say. But it seemed strange to us to read in [p. 2.] cardinal Campegius' letters, that neither he ne Campanus, made on the pope's behalf, any promise to your highness, but

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[6] [In a letter from Brian to the king of the date May 5, these letters are alluded to as well as another despatch to the king. Neither of these is known to exist. Brian's letter is printed in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 169.]

only in general terms, considering that upon these special terms *de plenitudine potestatis*, and trust that the pope would use that in your highness' cause, I was sent hither, like as in my instructions is contained: which failing, your highness I doubt not right well remembereth how master Wolman, master Bel, and I shewed your highness such things as were to be required, not to be impetrable: my trust is that your highness will accept in good part my true heart and good will, which according to my most bounden duty shall never want, but be wholly applied where your highness shall command without respecte or regard of any other living creature, being very sorry to see your highness' cause handled in this sort. But your highness hath so much virtue in you, whereof God is to be thanked, as may suffice to convert other men's faults into goodness, to your highness' great glory, renown, and immortal fame: which is all that can be said after my poor wit herein, considering that your highness hath been not well handled, ne according to your merits by the pope, or some other: it becometh not me to arrecte the blame certainly to any man. And the pope sheweth cardinal Campegius' letters for his discharge, which thing your highness shall much better judge and consider by your high wisdom than I can write, most humbly desiring your highness that being in these terms
[p. 3.] with the pope's holiness, we may know of your highness what to do further.

As touching the bulls to be here impetracte for your highness, I have spoken with the pope's holiness, and he is content in all points so to grant as I required him, saving in that matter *de animadversione in clericos*, to the which he would not absolutely assent, but said he would with the cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* devise that should be to your highness' satisfaction: wishing then that he might grant as easily our other petitions, which he knoweth your highness to have more to heart, as he may these, adding by and by that he would for the wealth of Christendom, the queen were in her grave: and as he thought the emperor would be thereof most glad of all: saying also that he thought like as the emperor hath 18
destroyed the temporalities of the church, so shall she be the cause of the destruction of the spiritualities. Making exclamation of his misfortune in who person these two adversities

should chance, and upon the occasion of that family. When we speak with him we think we should have all things, and in the end his counsail denieth all: by reason the cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* hath been sick, and is every other day sickly, and for the most part when the cardinal is whole the pope is sick, we have yet no expedition of the said bulls, trusting that your highness will have consideration of these lets, accordingly praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate.

From Rome the 4th day of May,

Your highness' most humble
subject servant and daily orator,
Steven Gardyner.

[Endorsed, *To the king's highness.*]

## Number XV[7]. [p. 37.]

*The pope's promise in the king's affair.*

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. xii. [fol. 198.]

Cum nos Clemens Divinâ providentiâ illius nominis papa septimus modernus justiciam ejus causæ perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ rex illustris, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus matrimonii nullitate tanquam notorium publicum et famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissimâ in Christo filiâ nostrâ Catherinâ claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis catholici filiâ nulliter et de facto contraxisse et consummasse affirmat leges tam divinas quam humanas in eâ parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebatur.

Ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios Thomam et Laurencium miseratione divinâ sanctæ Ceciliæ et sanctæ Mariæ trans Tiberim respective titulorum nostri et apostolicæ sedis in regno Angliæ
[fol. 199.] prædicto legatos de latere, commissionem sub certâ tunc expressâ formâ, quam pro hic insertâ et expressâ haberi volumus et habemus; emiserimus, ac eosdem nostros in eâ parte vicegerentes ac competentes judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore præsentium effectualiter et plenissime conjunctim et divisim committimus et deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico regi in justiciâ illâ quam celerime administrandâ propensionem certius et clarius attestemur securioremque reddamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis non una fore ætate explicabili, denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros juxta et secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus et factus fiendusve aut habendus validus et firmus ac inconcussus maneat,
[fol. 200.] Promittimus et in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur, quod ad 19
nullius preces requisicionem seu instanciam merove motu aut aliter, ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas; aut rescripta, aliave quæcunque per modum vel justiciæ vel graciæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causâ prædictâ commissionum commissionisve prædictæ processusve per hujusmodi deputatos

[7] [This paper had been printed with tolerable accuracy by Herbert, p. 249. Yet it was printed with the utmost carelessness in the folio edition, having more than thirty errors of copying.]

nostros juxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habiti et facti habendive aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quovismodo prejudicialia quâcunque racione contineant atque ut dictarum commissionum seu commissionis processusve hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem et effectualem execucionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illave aut eorum aliqua revocent, aut eiisdem [fol. 201.] vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliquâ parte eorundem præjudicent, concedemus: sed datas a nobis eiisdem deputatis nostris commissiones et commissionum hujusmodi processum que per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve predictæ habitum et factum, habendumque et fiendum sua plenissima vi auctoritate robore et efficacia realiter et cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabebimus, tenebimus et defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas brevia, bullas, aut rescripta aliave quæ dictarum commissionum commissionisve hujusmodi processusve antedicti executionem aut ejusdem virtute decreta, diffinita, et pronunciata per eosdem deputatos nostros, confirmare possint aut valeant absque morâ recusacione aut difficultate, quacumque de tempore in tempus realiter et cum effectu valida et [fol. 202.] efficacia, dabimus et concedemus.

Et insuper promittimus et in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæsito colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus: sed ea omnia et singula firma valida inconcussa et inviolabilia patiemur et permittemus.

Ac insuper si (quod absit) aliquid contra præmissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso irrito inani et vacuo omnino haberi volumus et habemus: ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, et extunc pro nunc, cassamus, annullamus et reprobamus, nulliusque roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel [fol. 203.] esse debere pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus.

Datum Viterbiæ die xxiii Julii millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

*Ita est*

*Clemens papa septimus antedictus.*

## Number XVI. [p. 63.] 20

*Some account of the proceedings of the university, in the case of the divorce, from Dr. Buckmaster's book MS. C.C.C.*[8]

[C. C. C. MSS. ccxlii. fol. 11 a.] Quod hodie studia vestra interpellaverim, doctissimi senatores, ac viri gravissimi, voluntas regia in causâ est, cui pro insigni bonitate suâ, ac summo quem erga nos et studia nostra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forsitan negotiis, in quibus vestras prudentias consulere decrevit sua majestas, visum est placuitque literis suis vos omnes salutare, quas si diligenter auscultare velitis, à me statim perlegente audietis.

[fol. 11 b.] To our trusty and well-beloved, the vice-chancellor, doctors, and other regents and non-regents of our university of Cambridge.

1529. *By the king.*

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

And whereas in the matter of matrimony between us and the queen, upon consultation had with the greatest clerks of Cristendom, as well without this our realm, as within the same, they have in a great number affirmed unto us in writing, and thereunto subscribed their names, that, *Ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis sit prohibitum jure divino et naturali*, which is the chief and principal point in our cause.

We therefore, desirous to know and understand your minds and opinions in that behalf, and nothing doubting, but like as ye have always found us to you and that our university, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our authority for your wealth and benefit, when ye have required the same, ye will now likewise not omit to do any thing whereby ye should minister unto us gratuity and pleasure, and specially in declaration of the truth, in a cause so near touching us your

[8] [This paper begins at fol. 11 a, and omitting fol. 11 b, fol. 12 a, goes on to fol. 12 b. The writer appears accidentally to have omitted them, and afterwards to have filled them up.]

prince and sovereign lord, our soul, the wealth also and benefit of this our realm, have sent hither purely for that our purpose, our trusty and right well-beloved clerks and counsellors, master doctor Gardyner our secretary, and master Fox, who shall on our behalf further open and declare unto you the circumstances of the premise: wherefore we will and require you, not only to give firm credence unto them, but also to advertise us by the same under the common seal of that our university of such opinion in the proposition aforesaid, as shall be there concluded, and by the consent of learned men shall be agreed upon. In doing whereof, ye shall deserve our especial thanks, and give us cause to increase our favour towards you, as we shall not fail to do accordingly. Given under our signet at Yorke place the 16th day of February.

21 Accepistis modo quod postulat à vobis regia majestas, intelligitis quæ sit ejusdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, nisi ut veritas cujusdam conclusionis agnoscatur atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut suâ refert plurimum scire, ita et nos pro studio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in principem nostrum alioqui clementissimum, benignissimum et de nobis omnibus ac achademiâ nostrâ optime meritum, omne [fol. 12 b.] studium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter postulaverit, id impetret e nobis. Si de veritate quæstio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius investigaretur, quam inter ipsos veritatis professores? Si veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipsâ achademiâ, ubi et bona semper vigent studia, solida juditia, ac mentes ab omni ambicione sint alienæ? Verum ego prudentias vestras prolixiori oracione non detinebo, vobis ac vestro juditio ista relinquam. Est cuique suus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hâc causâ conscientia sua, quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum spectat, perfitiam sedulo, nempe ut primi consulantur seniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent fatiendum, deinde et vestras scrutabimur sententias atque suffragia postulabimus.

Dixi.

[Superioribus hiisce diebus doctissimi viri duos magistros ad examinandum tyrones nostros quos questionistas vocamus delegistis Hi offitio suo probe functi nunc tandem censuram suam

vobis demonstrare sunt parati. Vos interim quæso aures paulisper accommodate.]

*The form of the grace that was asked and granted in the accomplishment of the king's request.*

[fol. 14 b, ad med.] PLACET vobis ut vicecancellarius, doctores Salcot, Watson, Reps, Thomson de collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boston, et magistri, Mydelton, Heynes, Mylsente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxtell, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, et Bayne, una cum procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem et authoritatem nomine totius universitatis, respondendi literis regiæ majestatis in hac congregacione lectis, ac nomine totius universitatis diffiniendi et determinandi quæstionem in eisdem literis propositam: ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præsentium inter se decreverint respondendum
[fol. 15.] dictis literis, et diffinierint ac determinaverint super quæstione propositâ in eiisdem, habeatur et reputetur pro responsione, diffinicione et determinacione totius universitatis. Et quod liceat vicecancellario, procuratoribus, et scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium responsione, diffinicione, et determinacione, concipiendis, sigillum commune universitatis apponere: sic quod publice disputetur, et antea legantur coram universitate absque ulteriori gratiâ, desuper obtinendâ aut petendâ.

[fol. 13.] 9. *die Martii.*

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) clarissimi viri ac senatores gravissimi, ut nuper excellentissimi principis nostri literas acceperitis, quibus cum super quâdam quæstione inter illum ac illustrissimam reginam contraversâ, nostram sententiam desideraret, flagitaret impense; Nos (ut nos decuit) tanti principis peticioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (præsertim seniorum) suffragiis convenimus sententiam, ut selectis quibusdam sacræ theologiæ tum pro- 22
fessoribus tum bachalauriis ac aliis magistris, tantam quæstionem examinandi, determinandi, ac diffiniendi, nomine totius universitatis provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos et ego minimus à vobis selectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni consultacione, deliberacione, diligentiâ, ac sacræ scripturæ locorum conferentiâ, tum etiam interpretum, denique publicâ

disputatione præmissis, tandem ad illius quæstionis determinacionem ac diffinicionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus est vestrûm (quibus ea provincia commissa est) qui aut ambigere aut refragari possit: ita et vobis omnibus (quod et gratia à vobis concessa postulat) eandem compertam esse volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod vestrâ causâ, vestrisque nominibus, à fratribus vestris, per ingentes labores, ac summam industriam exantlatum est.

Determinacio in hiis scriptis comprehensa sic habet.

Nos universitas studentium academiæ Cantabrigiensis, omnibus infra scripta lecturis auditurisve salutem. [fol. 13 b.]

Cum occasione causæ matrimonialis, inter invictissimum et potentissimum principem et dominum nostrum Henricum octavum Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæque regem, fidei defensorem, ac dominum Hiberniæ, et illustrissimam dominam Catherinam reginam controversæ, de illâ quæstione nostra rogaretur sententia: videlicet,

*An sit jure divino et naturali prohibitum, ne frater ducat in uxorem relictam fratris mortui sine liberis?*

Nos de eâ re deliberaturi more solito convenientes; atque communicatis consiliis, maturâ consultacione tractantes quomodo, quo ordine ad investigacionem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem suffragiis, selectis quibusdam ex doctissimis sacræ theologiæ professoribus, bachalauriis, ac aliis magistris eâ curâ demandatâ, ut scrutatis diligentissime sacræ scripturæ locis, illisque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipsi dictæ quæstioni respondendum putarent. [fol. 14.]

Quoniam auditis, perpensis, ac post publicam super dictâ quæstione disputacionem maturâ deliberacione discussis hiis, quæ in quæstione prædictâ alterutram partem statuere et convellere possint; illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora etiam et certiora, ac genuinum et syncerum sacræ scripturæ intellectum præ se ferentia, interpretum etiam sententiis magis consona visa sunt, quæ confirmant et probant, jure divino et naturali prohibitum esse, ne frater uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis accipiat in conjugem. Illis igitur persuasi, et in unam opinionem convenientes, ad quæstionem prædictam ita respondendum decrevimus, et in hiis scriptis, nomine totius universitatis respondemus, ac pro conclusione nobis solidissimis racionibus et validissimis argumentis comprobatâ affirmamus quod,

[fol. 14 b.] *Ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per carnalem copulam, nobis Christianis hodie est prohibitum jure divino ac naturali.*

Atque in fidem et testimonium hujusmodi nostræ responsionis et affirmacionis, hiis literis sigillum nostrum commune curavimus apponi.

Dat. in congregacione nostrâ Cantabrigiæ, die nono Martii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo nono.

[fol. 12 ad med.] Dominica 2. Quadragesimæ anno Domini 1529. in Wyndesor.

Delivered by me, W. B., vice-chancellor, in the chamber of presence, *post vesperas.*

Your university of Cambridge have them most humbly com- 23
mended unto your grace, and here they have sent unto your highness their letters.

Then kiss them and so deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your request expressed in your letters directed unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. Fox your most wise counsellors in the accomplishing of the same, they have done their devors, and here in writing under their common seal, they have sent unto your grace their sentence, desiring the same to accept, and to take it in part and good worth. And if they had any thing else to gratify your grace withal, their letters and their studies, your highness should be sure thereof to the uttermost of their powers.

MS. C. C. C. Given to the college by Dr. Jegon, master.

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*To the right worshipful master doctor Edmonds, vicar of Alborne in Wiltshire be these letters delivered.*

My duty remembered, I heartily commend me unto you, and I let you understand, that *Dominicâ Secundâ* at afternoon, I came to Wyndesore, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary, and also with Mr. Provoste, and so at after even-song, I delivered our letters in the chamber of presence, all the court beholding. The king with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the letters of determination, notwithstanding that I did there also deliver them, with a proposition. His highness gave

me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our wisdoms and good conveyance in the matter, with the great quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his hands for our university, according unto that, that Mr. Secretary did express unto us, &c. So he departed. But by and by, he greatly praised Mr. Latymer's sermon, and in so praising said in this wise, This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vice-chancellor yonder. Yon same, said he unto the duke of Norfolk, is Mr. Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the said duke, which after the king's departure came unto me, and welcomed me, saying amongst other things, that the king would speak with me on the next day; and here is the first act.

On the next day, I waited until it was dinner time; and so at the last Doctor Butt came unto me, and brought a reward, twenty nobles for me, and five marks for the younger proctor, which was with me; saying that I should take that for a resolute answer, and that I might depart from the court, when I would. Then came Mr. Provost, and when I had shewed him of the answer, he said, I should speak with the king at after dinner for all that, and so brought me unto a privy place, where as he would have me to wait. At after dinner I came
24 thither and he both, and by one of the clock, the king entered in. It was in a gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. Latymer, and Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: the king there talked with us, until six of the clock. I assure you, he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Provost, that this was not also determined, *An papa possit dispensare, etc.* I made the best, and confirmed the same that they had shewed his grace before, and how it would never have been so obtained. Then he opened his mind, saying, that he would have it determined at after Easter, and of the same we counselled a while.

I pray you therefore study for us, for our business is not yet at an end, *An papa possit dispensare cum jure divino, etc.* Much other communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his highness departed, casting a little holy water of the court: and I shortly after took my leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, with whom I did not drink,

ne yet was bidden, and on the morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, and being glad that I was out of the court, where many men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder on me. And here shall be an end for this time of this fable.

All the world almost crieth out of Cambridge for this act, and specially on me, but I must bear it as well as I may. I have lost a benefice by it, which I should have had within this ten days. For there hath one fallen in Mr. Throkmorton's gift, which he hath faithfully promised unto me many a time, but now his mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the court at after Easter, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more. [I have had much business here in Cambridge since your departure. Parson Dakers of St. Nicholas' hostel did hurt Christopher, Mr. Secretary's servant, and where I did enquire with my assistance, according unto our statutes, *De perturbatione pacis, and bearing of armour,* the principal and he did so order me as no man hath been ordered heretofore; he refused me for his judge *in causâ correctionis,* because I was familiar, as he said, with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Dr. Thirleby. I would not admit that recusation, but when he would no otherwise be counselled, I commanded him unto ward, and so he appealed, but I would not admit his appeal, ne yet the younger proctor, and so in going to ward he went from the beadle, and that night there was such a jetting in Cambridge as ye never heard of, with such boyng and crying even against our college, that all Cambridge might perceive it was in despite of me. Afterwards the elder Proctor did inhibit me, contrary to all counsel, and so would have prosecuted the appeal, but I would not suffer him. We had such business for this matter as ye have not heard of. And I have perceived his malicious stomach towards me. But he had shame enough thereof. It was made a country matter, and greatly laboured, but yet it is approved by the University, *quod non licebit cuiquam recusare D. Vice. pro suo judice in causâ correctionis.*][9] Mr. Latymer preacheth still, *Quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt.* I am informed, that Oxford hath now elect certain persons to determine the king's question. I hear say also, that Mr. Provost was there in great

[9] [The passage between brackets was omitted by the author.]

jeopardy. Other tidings I have none at this time, but that all our company be in good health, and heartily saluteth you. And thus fare ye heartily well.

At Cambridge, *in crastino Dominicæ Palmarum.*

Your own to his power,

William Bukmaster.

The king willed me to send unto you, and to give you word of his pleasure in the said question.

*MS. C. C. C. Miscellan P.*[10]

[10] [These papers have been printed in Dr. Lamb's Collection of Documents from the MS. library of C. C. C. The last letter has also been printed in the British Magazine, vol. xxxvi. p. 72, from the transcript in the University Library, C. 232. There are a few slight variations of words in this copy, and the passage within brackets on p. 34 has been omitted.]

## Number XVII. [p. 64.] 25

*Three letters written by King Henry to the university of Oxford, for their opinion in the cause of his marriage.*

[*To our trusty and well-beloved subjects, the Commissary of our university of Oxonforde, the rulers of the colleges there, and all the regents of the same, and non-regents.*]

### Letter I. *By the king.*

Ex. MS. D. Kennet. [MS. Bodl. 282. fol. 104. Epist. 193.]

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we have for an high and weighty cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well learned men within our realm and without, for certain considerations our conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the minds of you amongst you in our university of Oxonforde, which be erudite in the faculty of divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what conformity ye be with the others, which marvellously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: not doubting but that ye for the allegiance and fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any abuse declare your mind and conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilful and sinister opinions of your own several minds, nor giving credence to misreports or sinister persuasions, considering we be your sovereign liege lord, totally giving our firm mind and affection to the true overture of divine learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just learning in the said cause, like as ye will abide by; wherein ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your sovereign liege lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our university there so good and gracious sovereign lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well employed to your weal in time to come. And in case ye do not uprightly according to divine learning handle your selves herein, ye may be assured, that we not without great cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnatural misdemeanour therein, that it shall not be to your

quietness and ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according to both your duty to God and your prince, ye set apart all untrue and sinister informations, and accommodate yourselves to the mere truth as it becometh true subjects to do; assuring you that they that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by: trusting that now ye know our mind and pleasure, we shall see such a conformity among you, that we shall thereof take great consolation and comfort, to the great allegement of our conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect credence to my lord of Lincoln our confessor in this behalf and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared on our behalf, to make unto us either by him or your authentic letters full answer and resolution, which your duties well remembered, we doubt not but that it shall be to your high contentation and pleasure.

Given under [our signet at our castle of Windsor the first day of March.[11]]

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26 Letter II. *By the king.*

[*To our trusty and well-beloved the commissary of our university of Oxonforde, and ancient doctors and bachelors of the same.*]

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. [Epist. 194, ibid.]

And of late being informed, to our no little marvel and discontentation, that a great part of the youth of that our university with contemptuous faction and manner, daily combining together, neither regarding their duty to us their sovereign lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the virtuous, wise, sad, and profound learned men of that university, wilfully to stick upon the opinion to have a great number of the regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and bachelors of divinity, for the determination of our question; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a great number of right small learning in regard to the other, should be joined with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause: which, [fol. 104.*]

[11] [The date 1529–30 has been added in a later hand.]

as we think, should be no small dishonour to our university there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same, assuring you that this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but also much to be marvelled of, upon what grounds and occasions they being our mere subjects, should shew themselves more unkind and wilful in this matter, than all other universities, both in this and all other regions do. Finally, we trusting in the dexterity and wisdom of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that university, be in perfect hope, that ye will conduce and frame the said young persons unto good order and conformity, as it becometh you to do. Whereof we be desirous to hear with convenient diligence, and doubt ye not we shall regard the demeanour of every one of that university, according to their merits and deserts. And if the *youth of that university will play masters,* as they begin to do, we doubt not but that they shall well perceive, that *non est bonum irritare crabrones.*

Given under [our signet at our castle of Windesore the sixth day of March, the twenty-first year of our reign[12].]

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## Letter III.

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the commissary, regents, and non-regents of our university of Oxford.*

[*By the king.*]

[Epist. 195, ibid.] TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well.

And whereas by sundry our letters, sent and delivered at several times by the hands of our counsellors unto you, with credence declared unto you by the same, we have only required and made instance unto you, for the obtaining of that, which at the least desire of any Christian man ye be bound and obliged to do; that is to say, to declare and shew your opinions and sentence in such a doubt, as upon the dissolution and determination whereof, dependeth the tranquillity, repose, 27
and quiet of our conscience, we cannot a little marvel that ye neither having respect to our estate, being your prince and

[12] [In the margin is added in a different hand, anno Domini 1529–30.]

sovereign lord; ne yet remembering such gratuities and benefits as we have always shewed unto you, as well to the particular wealth of diverse as to the common body of that our university, without any correspondence shewed on your behalf again, have hitherto delayed and deferred not only to send us your determination and resolution to our demand and question, but also take order, or enter into any way or mean, whereby ye might declare and shew unto us, that ye be of mind and determination to endeavour yourself for the accomplishment of our desire in that behalf. And so much the more marvel at this your manner of delays, considering that our university of Cambridge hath within far shorter time not only agreed upon the fashion and manner to make answer unto us effectually, and with diligence following the same; but have also eight days passed sent unto us their answer under their common seal, plainly determining, *Prohibitionem esse divini et naturalis juris, nè frater uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat uxorem.* For the searching of the truth in which matter, if ye had before this time condescended upon the manner and fashion convenient in that behalf, we could then have taken any delay afterward, upon any other colour or pretence made, but in good part: whereas now ye refusing to agree upon any such order, and denying to do that which should be but the entry into the matter for declaration of your forwardness, good will and diligence: we cannot otherwise judge of you, but that ye neither behave yourselves towards us, as our merits towards you have deserved, as good subjects to a kind prince and sovereign lord; ne as by the learning which ye profess, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our mind, and yet nevertheless considering you to be there by our authority and grant, as a body politic, in the ruling whereof in things to be done in the name of the whole, the number by private suffrages doth prevail, and being loath to shew our displeasure, whereof we have so great cause ministered unto us, unto the whole in general; whereas default percase consisteth and remaineth but in light and wilful heads; for the tender consideration we bear to learned men, and the great desire we have to nourish, maintain, and favour those that are good; have thought convenient eftsones to send unto you with these our letters our trusty and right well-beloved

clerk and counsellor, Mr. Edwarde Fox, trusting verily that ye which be heads and rulers there, well pondering and weighing your duties in the accomplishment of our request, for the ensearching of the truth in such a cause, as toucheth your prince and sovereign lord, our soul, and the wealth of this our realm: and your great lack and blame with just cause of high displeasure to be worthily conceived by us in the denial and slack doing thereof, will so order and accommodate the fashion, and ——[13] of passing such things as should proceed from that university in this case, as the number with private suffrages given without reason, prevail not against the heads, rulers, sad and sage fathers, to the detriment, hindrance, and inconvenience of the whole. But so to examine, try, and weigh the opinons and minds of the multitude, as the importunance of this matter doth require: wherein we doubt not 28
but your body is established in such wise, that there be left ways and means to the heads and rulers how to avoid and eschew such inconvenience, when it should chance: as we trust
[fol. 105.] you that be heads and rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good minds, ye will not fail to do accordingly, and so by your diligence to be shewed hereafter, to redeem your errors and delays past. Whereof to understand for the favour we bear to the maintenance of learning, we would be very glad, as our said trusty and well-beloved counsellor can shew unto you on our behalf; unto whom we will ye give firm credence:

Given under our signet at our castle of Wyndesore [the seventeenth day of March[14].]

[13] [Probably the word *manner* is by accident omitted here.]

[14] [The next letter on this leaf is dated the 6th of March, 21st year of our reign, by the king, introducing Dr. Bell to the university. This is followed by another from Warham alluding to the mission of the bishop of Lincoln and Dr. Bell, hastening their determination as Paris and Cambridge had already determined, and recommending the appointment of thirty persons to determine the matter. It is dated from Knowle, March 15th, and states the reason of the letter being in English, viz. that there may be no room to misconceive his meaning. The account of the proceedings is given in a letter from Longland, Fox, and Bell, to the king, dated from Oxford, April 5th, which is printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 377. In the letter is enclosed the decree which adopts the determination of the thirty-three doctors and bachelors as the sense of the whole university.]

## Number XVIII.[15] [p. 67.]

*Copy of the king's letters to the bishop of Rome.*

Ex MSS. Rymeri. [No. 4622, vol. liv. art. 66, p. 299.]

Etsi videamus vel temporum vel hominum iniquitate fieri, ut postulata nostra, quantumvis æqua, ac naturali ratione subnixa, parum expediantur; nihil etiam proficere, in causâ nostrâ justissimâ, charissimi fratris et consanguinei ac perpetui confœderati nostri, Christianissimi regis amicissimas preces; nobilium autem nostrorum intercessionem non modo contemni, sed etiam derideri, quod eos æquo animo non laturos existimamus; denique re ipsâ nihil præstari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos sublevet; hæc omnia, licet apertius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex oratoribus nostris quos apud vos habemus, tum à vestro isthic oratore cognoscamus; est tamen spei opinionisque nostræ tam diversus exitus ut subinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoriâ repetentibus omnes causæ nostræ circumstantias, porro autem singula conferentibus quæ præcesserunt quæque secuta sunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque responsorum vestræ sanctitatis in hâc causâ nostrâ quam alioqui certam et firmam, fide dignorum oratorum et vestrorum et nostrorum relatio constituit,

[15] [The author in the text of the History, p. 67, attributes this document to the year 1530. The date of it may be more definitely fixed from internal evidence. It must have been written soon after the reply to the *intercessio nobilium nostrorum*. The letter from the lords Spiritual and Temporal and certain Commons in Parliament to the Pope is dated July 30, 1530; and Clement's answer is of Sept. 27. Both of these letters are printed in Dodd's Church History, the former from Rymer, xiv. 405, the latter from Collier, ii. Records, p. 10. They also both appear in Lord Herbert's History. The king wrote to Ghinucci, Bennet and Cassali on the 7th of October, a letter which is printed in State Papers, vol. iii. p. 261, which implies pretty nearly the same state of things as must have existed when this letter was written. From it it appears that they had written on the 17th of September, describing how they could not do anything with the pope. And the king urges them to allege the custom of the country, which prohibited him from submitting to the jurisdiction of a court held in a foreign country. The answer to this letter is printed in Tierney's edition of Dodd's Church History, vol. i. p. 384. It is written by Bennet, and is dated Oct. 27. In it he says, that though before he had named it they had alleged the privileges of the realm, yet that they went to the pope again, but that they could get nothing from him but that he could prove his jurisdiction better than Henry could prove his custom. This important despatch seems to have escaped the notice of the editor of 'State Papers.' The king's letter was probably written in November or December 1530, soon after the receipt of Bennet's letter of October 27th.]

ipsa ratio communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certissimâ tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus sanctitatem vestram fecisse quæ fecisse cognoscimus quum ea facere non debuisse intelligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius præcesserunt, quod nuperrime efflagitavimus de dandis in Angliâ judicibus, quis credidisset sanctitatem vestram negare voluisse; longe aliter sperabamus nos. Aliter certe credidit Christianissimus rex qui nobiscum una id petiit: aliter crediderunt sui consiliarii, quorum suasu id fecit: secus crediderunt nobiles nostri omnes, et omnes omnium ordinum primi viri, qui ad nostra postulata suas litteras adjunxerunt. Et quem non ad id adigeret ratio ut crederet sanctitatem vestram facturam Dei respectu quod debuisset, et in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuisset. Debuisset certe permittere sacrosanctis olim consiliis id definientibus, ut controversia illic terminetur ubi primum nata est. Illic enim judices et propius vident et cernunt certius: ut gloriosissimo martyri Cipriano placuit. Et Divus Bernardus ad Eugenium* scribit, bene facis tu quod 29
appellationum negato* suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoscentes et qui noscere citius possunt: ubi enim certior et facilior notio, ibi decisio tutior et expeditior esse potest: potuisset autem sanctitas vestra, nam olim se potuisse ostendit cum judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos postea revocavit.

Quod si debuisset quidem, quod negari non potest, et potuisset etiam, ut quidem factis antea suis de consilio suorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate? siquidem ut deberet ipsam liberam rectam et certam teneat sanctitas vestra, non ad aliena arbitria accommodatam* ac humanis respectibus inservientem quod res* ita se habet ut habet, fuerunt aliquando vices nostri, nunc ut videmus aliorum sunt. Non in lege Domini, sed in rerum vicissitudine meditandum est, ut de vestræ sanctitatis manu aliquid auxilii expectemus, sed auxilium nostrum à Domino certum est, et in Domino sperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conspectu omnium acta probant voluntatem sanctitatis vestræ totam Cæsari addictam esse: illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, si quid rogamus, quod officii vestri esset, prima ratio est, ut ne quid Cæsari displiceat. Quem etiamsi amicum habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non possumus, ita in hâc causâ nostrâ iniquiorem nobis non sine causâ refugere debeamus et recte gravissimam nobis injuriam factam et vestro

officio indignissimum dedecus admissum videmus*, ut cum Cæsar se in hâc causâ interposuerit, etiam cum se opposuerit definitioni appellatione interpositâ, cum se partem publice professus sit, vestra sanctitas tamen eundem semper consultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet et statuat quodcunque temporis rationi oportunum videatur. Et si quid ab adverso dicatur statim credere, si quid nos proposuerimus omnino rejicere, scilicet creditur nunc reginæ regnum nostrum Angliæ non esse tutum locum in quo causa judicetur: et creditur unicæ allegationi sine testibus contra tam præclara et aperta documenta quæ nos in diversum edidimus, non verbis et assertionibus quæ fingi possunt, sed rebus ipsis et factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quantâ cum libertate atque .... impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorsimus, quam quæ animo videretur suo: diversum à nobis sentientes etiam in cæteris, favore et prosequimur et prosecuti sumus. Et tamen, post tot argumenta securitatis, et cum nullum signum adhuc apparuerit cur timeri quisquam[16] e nobis merito deberet, credit vestra sanctitas nudam reginæ allegationem in diversum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter essemus laturi quod ageretur et quantâ cum æquanimitate passuri quod fieret, si quid contra nos fieret. Missi sunt ad nos judices in Angliam, a sanctitate vestrâ, nunc vero cum id amplius factitari* non potest, non modo dubitatur sed creditur diversum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos, regnum nostrum locum esse tutum in quo causa nostra judicetur viz. cum hactenus summam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiserimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diversum, et si quas probationes attulerit, vanæ sint oportet et falsæ nec verisimiles. Quæ quum ita sint, aliud tamen cur judices non dederit, non respondit sanctitas vestra, nisi quod regina allegavit locum suspectum. Et quis crederet sanctitatem
30 vestram ista nobis respondisse, nec aliud dixisse ne judices daret in partibus*: certe referentium credulitatem exigit, res vero ipsa negat*. Si sequamur quod antea diximus eam persuasionem ut credamus* sanctitatem vestram voluntatem suam ita Cæsari addixisse, ut non ex animi vestri summâ prudentiâ præditi sententiâ sed ex Cæsaris affectu respondere contendat.

Quæ res facit ut iterum atque iterum repetitis litteris sancti-

[16] [Probably a mistake for *quicquam*.]

tatem vestram adeamus, expressuri nimirum si quid aliud moverit sanctitatem vestram cur nostris ultimis desideriis non annuerit, cupidi etiam litteris vestris intelligere cui causæ po-
[fol. 302.] tissimum, denegando innixa sit. Sic enim expressius et certius mentes invicem et animi nostri sententias comunicabimus: Si in causis hiisce gravioribus et postulata et responsa scriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis litteris a sanctitate vestrâ ut causam nostram in Angliâ datis judicibus, illis quos inter* oratores tanquam indifferentes et æquissimos nominabamus*, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De judicibus autem nullam ut accepimus facit difficultatem sanctitas vestra, tantum de loco quæstio fuit, quem sacra consilia jam diffiniverunt et Sanctus etiam Ciprianus et Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientissimum affirmant, ut in eo loco causa terminetur ubi primum nata est. Durum certe esset probare nudam reginæ allegationem de loco suspecto, contra ea argumenta quæ nos ostendimus. Et facile videt prudentia vestra non levem nobis notam inuri, ut eâ infamiâ aspergamur, quasi in causâ tanti sacramenti, suspecti haberemur, ne eam ex æquo et bono divinarum legum præscripto intra regni nostri limites* terminari pateremur. Suspitio talis crimen esset* etiam in infimo homuncione famosum; in principe viro tanto magis augetur facinoris atrocitas, quanto sublimius consurgit fastigium dignitatis. Nec possumus certe pati, nedum æquanimiter ferre, ut de suspitione tam gravi immerito accusemur, ac sine teste etiam a vestrâ sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ si comunis patris et boni pastoris officio fungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam impingi pateretur, ne fama aut opinio cujusquam sine omni suâ culpâ lædatur, ne immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum est Christi vices in terris gerere, conservandæ charitatis exempla præbere, ita suum vendicare ne quid alteri* detrahatur, ex æquo et bono omnia disceptare, plane*, simpliciter, et aperte agere, promissa præstare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quo cursum aperte instituceras.

[fol. 303.] Hæc omnia non ascribimus sanctitati vestræ, nec de ocultis sacræ litteræ permittunt judicare, et nos semper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipsos fieri æquanimiter non ferremus. Sed si vestræ sanctitatis oratores, si vestri nuncii, vestri magistratus auctore sanctitate vestrâ faciunt quod faciunt, cujus rei certum judicium conscientiæ vestræ sit, clara certe verisimilitudo interim elucet:

sed si auctor est vestra sanctitas, si conscia sit, si* facta probat, immo si non improbat aperte*, non corrigit : graviora sunt hiis quæ supra memoravimus quæ in sanctitatem vestram dici possunt. Nam quum sanctitas vestra omnibus modis primum conata impedire ne quis in causâ nostrâ suam sententiam libere proferret, ac deinde post multas longas et varias preces, justitiæ administrandæ necessitate adacta, ut suum cuique liberum judicium permitteret, scribendi et dicendi quod conscientiæ videretur, litteris tandem in publicum missis, permiserit omnibus liberam in causâ nostrâ scribendi facultatem : magistratus interea vestri, vestro etiam nomine, multis gravissime minati
31 sunt, si quid scripserint in potestatem vestram. Hoc Bononiæ et aliis in locis permultis factum scimus. Cæsaris vero* oratores ubique in Italiâ, ac vestris præsertim ditionibus, contempto vestræ sanctitatis edicto, indies non cessant terrores, minas, et cætera quæque territamenta inculcare ; sciente et volente, vel saltem non impediente sed connivente sanctitate vestrâ, hiis qui in causâ nostrâ scripserunt ac scriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, quâ conspiratione nescimus, effectum est, ut litterarum nostrarum nec liber sit commeatus nec tutus. Christianissimus vero rex nobis significavit, quomodo orator vester qui apud illum est, de causâ nostrâ etiam nomine sanctitatis vestræ, ut quidem asseruit, in verba* pronuntiavit ; nec veritus est tanto principi .... audacter et impudenter mentiri ; ut diceret causam .... nostram contra omne jus et fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, si ex animi vestri sententiâ protulit, [fol. 304.] non semper ex animi sui sententiâ, et scripsit et locuta est sanctitas vestra, quæ causam nostram aliquando justissimam appellavit. Quod si temeritas illius hominis à sanctitatis vestræ synceritate remota est, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præscripta agere videatur, saltem aliquâ ratione diluenda suspitio est : sicque illis agendum, quos splendor dignitatis reddit conspicuos ; ne ullam* scandali occasionem præstent, hiis quos in obsequio* et amicitiâ continere cupiant. Nobiscum autem ita* agat sanctitas vestra, ut naturæ præcepta non transiliat ; .... si suum sibi integrum servari cupiat, ne nostrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad se in causâ nostrâ : et si quas receperit, ne contra justitiam eas tueri studeat ; sed secundum justitiam, eas in regnum remittat ; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones suas, in hâc causâ contra nos, aut subditos nostros, quos illis modis non

convenit deterreri. Sinat leges et prærogativas nostras regnique nostri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate vestris cedentes, suâ vi procedere: inhibitiones istas, si quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori consilio revocet* quæ factæ sunt, et cum alieni juris præjudicio*, ne deinceps emittat. Summatim autem quod petitur* hoc est, ut ne ad se, neve ad curiam Romanam, causæ illius cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra regni nostri limites debet terminari. Nec credat sanctitas vestra, ut cum leges certas et fixas habeat hoc regnum nostrum Angliæ, ne causæ quæcunque regiam personam, aut rempublicam quoquomodo tangentes, extra regni limites judiciis tractentur; vel permissuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi et violari; vel passuros regni nostri nobiles, tam grave præjudicium huic regno inferri.

Breviter si te nil moveat persona rogantis, moveat saltem causa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia naturæ et rationi consonum est, ut quod nostrum est nobis illibatum conservare
[fol. 305.] studeamus. Rogamus autem auctoribus sacrosanctis consiliis, hoc est, vestris legibus; viz. ut in suâ cujusque provinciâ causa terminetur. Rogamus ex sententiâ Divorum Cipriani et Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut supra diximus, æquum visum est. Denique rogamus, quod leges nostræ diversum non patiantur, et nos à contentionibus abhorremus. Hiis certe non annuere non potest sanctitas vestra, si illum charitatis fervorem habeat, quem et titulus dignitatis præ se fert, et nos etiam habemus*. Veruntamen, si hæ causæ rogandi sanctitatem vestram moverint, ut concedat quod justum est, eâtenus tamen* apud nos 32
valebunt, ne de sanctitatis vestræ manu patiamur quod injustum est: nec quisque facile patitur auferri, quod suum est. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, sed a contentione non abest detrimentum: et nullius fere compendio semel natæ controversiæ transiguntur. Quid animi habeat sanctitas vestra, quid autem nobis respondere decreverit, rogamus ut per litteras velit significare [12].

[17] [The words marked with an asterisk are those which have been destroyed, and have been partially or wholly supplied from conjecture.]

## Number XIX.[15] [p. 75.]

*A letter of Gregory Cassali from Compiegne. An original.*

Roma, 16 Nov. 1532.

Cotton library, Vitellius, B. xii. [fol. 221.]

Serenissime et invictissime Domine mi supreme, salutem. Compendium, regem Christianissimum, quemadmodum sibi placere ipse mihi dixerat, sum subsequutus. Cum ejus majestati duo adhuc agenda supererant: primum, quia meorum litteris certior factus sum, brevi pontificem cum Cæsare conventurum, litteræ ad duos cardinales, qui Parisiis sunt, ab hoc rege Christianissimo conscribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quo celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam festinent. Itaque veluti à rege postulavi, ut hujusmodi litteræ exarantur. Deinde valde existimabam necessarium, cum hoc principe agere, ut duobus cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes cardinalis de Monte meminissent; eique pensionem annuam, saltem trium milium aureorum, ex quadraginta milibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in cardinales distribuere assignarent. Et rex quidem hoc etiam scribi ad duos cardinales jussit secretario Vilandri: quicum ego postmodo super iis pensionibus sermonem habui, cognovique sic in animo regem habere, ut duo cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potissimum digni hâc regiâ sint liberalitate, in eosque, quum quid in regno Galliæ ecclesiasticum vacare contigerit, ex meritis uniuscujusque pensiones conferantur; nunc autem nihil in promptu haberi, quod cardinali de Monte dari possit: verum regis nomine illi de futuro esse promittendum, quod mihi certe summopere displicuit; et secretario Vilandri non reticui, ostendens pollicitationes hujusmodi centies, jam cardinali de Monte factas fuisse; et modo si iterum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, nisi ut illius viri quasi ulcera pertractent, id quod Vilandri verum esse fatebatur, pollicitusque est se, quum rex à venatu rediisset, velle ei suadere, ut

[15] [This paper has been burnt round the edges, but only a few words on the first pages of the leaves have been lost, and none of which there can be any doubt that the author has given a true transcript.]

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cardinalem de Monte aliquâ præsenti pensione prosequatur; quâ quidem re nihil conducibilius aut oportunius fieri posset.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum litteris ex urbe significatur, ad Guronum perscribo. Et D. Benettum ad dominum ducem Norfolciæ scribere arbitror his litteris, quæ hic mihi redditæ sunt, et cum præsentibus mitto. Quod autem ex rege Christianissimo cognovi, illud est. Constituisse Cæsarem, superioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinando fratri viginti milia 33
peditum, equitum decem milia; ita ut ipse solveret de suo, stipendia sex milibus Boemorum, et duobus milibus militum navalium: quatuor vero milibus Germanorum darentur stipendia à liberis Germaniæ civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italorum erant octo milia, nihil certi stipendii decernebat; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plærumque evenire consuevit, aut exiguæ rei, aut ad summum dimidio stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem
[fol. 22.] equitum milibus, duo milia ex Flammingis, ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros stipendium à pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, statuebat. Sed enim Itali milites, male se tractari existimantes, tumultu facto Italiam versus abierunt quod quum reliqui cognovissent, alii alio domos suas omnes discesserunt. Hujus autem seditionis crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: idque quoniam discedentes milites ipsius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: illum igitur Cæsar comprehendi jussit: et cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejusdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo post dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos dispositos abiens Venetias se contulit: atque hanc quidem rem pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tulisse dicitur; et de adeo insigni contumeliâ cum Cæsarianis omnibus est conquestus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæsarem excusârunt, rogâruntque ut placato sit animo donec Cæsarem ipsum audiat, qui ostendet quicquid fecit in ipsius pontificis, beneficium fecisse.

De conventu pontificis Cæsarisque pro certo ferme habetur Bononiæ futurum: et ut ex litteris colligi potest, jam nunc
[Oct. 27. State Papers, vii. 382.] Cæsar Italiam cum duodecim milibus peditum ingressus est: et pontifex ab urbe Bononiam versus discedit, Romam enim venerat Petrus Cova Cæsaris legatus ad pontificem deducendum: quâ de re quum hic certior factus essem, ad Franciscum fratrem meum, qui Romæ est, scripsi, ut cardinalem de

Monte, et alterum amicum nostrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita festinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipsos secum ducere potest, promittat se nihil antequam Romam redierit in causâ majestatis vestræ facturum, quum præsertim absque ipsis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici possit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis cardinalibus diceret mandavi: quod si viderit non posse id a pontifice impetrari, ab ipsis contendet ut pontificem omnino sequantur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, sed quoquo modo sese deferri faciant: neque velit cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, absente pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præsertim si, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, pontifex Bononiæ usque in mensem Martium aut Aprilem est commoraturus. [fol. 223.] Sed nunc quod scribam omittendum non est. Quum Caletio discedens equum conscendissem, secretarius qui illic erat nuntii pontificis se litteras habere à nuntio mihi dixit, quibus respondebat ad quandam partem suarum litterarum, quâ illi meis verbis significarat, velle se omnino ad pontificem scribere, ne quicquam in causâ majestatis vestræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ sibi rationabiliter placere possent, dummodo nihil super causâ factum fuisset. Responsum autem nuntii illud erat, se in eam sententiam ad pontificem scripsisse, et de ea notâ scripsisse, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil antequam ego redierim in majestatis vestræ causâ innovatum fore: enim-
34 vero me rogavit ut aliquid boni, et quod vere placere posset afferrem, ne ipse mentitus esse videretur.

Sed de pensione in cardinalem de Monte conferendâ, quoniam postmodo rex Christianissimus quemadmodum mihi scribere promiserat recusavit, et me rogavit ut adventum magni magistri expectarem, quid sequutum sit majestas vestra ex domino Wintoniensi cognoscet, ad quem de hâc re abunde scripsi. Felix sit et optime valeat majestas vestra. Compendii die 16 Novemb. M.D. xxxii.

*vestræ Regiæ majestatis S.*

Gregory Casali.

[Endorsed,

moet Invictissimo Domino Angliæ
. . . nciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori
. . . niæ Domino nostro Domino
. . . supremo.]

## Number XX. [p. 77.]

*A representation made by the convocation to the king before the submission.*

Cotton library, Cleop. F. I. [fol. 98.]

First, as concerning such constitutions and ordinances provincial as be to be made hereafter by us your most humble subjects, we having our especial trust and confidence in your most high and excellent wisdom, your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion; and specially in your incomparable learning far exceeding in our judgment the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily increase in your majesty, do offer and promise hereunto the same that from henceforth *during your highness' natural life* which we most heartily beseech Almighty God long to preserve, we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution, any such constitutions or ordinances so by us to be made in time coming, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions, and the same so made shall approve by your highness' authority.

Second, Whereas your highness' honourable commons do pretend that divers of the constitutions provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be not only much prejudicial to your highness' prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said commons, we your most humble subjects for the considerations aforesaid, be contented to refer and commit all and singular the said constitutions to the examination and judgment of your grace only: and whichsoever of the same shall finally be found thought and judged by your grace's most high wisdom prejudicial and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promise your highness to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annul the same, according to the judgment of your grace.

Saving to us always all such immunities and liberties of this church of England, as hath been granted unto the same

by the goodness and benignity of your highness, and of others your most noble progenitors, with all such constitutions provincial as do stand with the laws of Almighty God *and holy church*, and of your realm heretofore made, which we most humbly beseech your grace to ratify and approve by your royal assent, for the better execution of the same in times to come, among your grace's people.

Providing also that until your highness' pleasure herein shall be further declared unto us, all manner of ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions according to the said constitutions in like manner and form as they have used the same in times past[14].

[14] [This paper has been printed in Atterbury's Rights and Privileges of an English Convocation, Appendix, p. 534. There are three copies, the various readings of which are given there. The last paragraph is omitted in one of them, as also the words printed in Italics in the above form. In the third form the last paragraph but one runs thus, 'Saving to us always all such constitutions provincial as be conformable, and do stand with the laws of Almighty God and of Holy Church, and be not repugnant to the laws of the realm, with all such other immunities and liberties of the Church of England as hath been granted and confirmed unto the same either by general councils, or else by the goodness and benignity of your highness and other your noble progenitors.']

## Number XXI. [p. 79.]

*A letter by Magnus to Cromwell, concerning the convocation of York. Taken from the original.*

Cleop. E. vi. fol. 251.

After full due recommendation unto your good mastership, like it the same to wit, that yesterday was here with me Mr. Doctor Lee, and shewed unto me the king's most gracious pleasure and your advertisements for my going northwards to the convocation at York.

So it is, as I doubt not the said Mr. Doctor Lee knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been sick and diseased, but greatly grieved with a rheum in mine head, and a catarrh fallen into my stomach, by reason whereof I have had, and yet have a continual great cough. I am in trust that my disease and sickness is in declination, supposing thereby the sooner to have recovery, and this day have sent for my horses into Nottinghamshire, and trust with the help of God to be at York soon after the beginning of the said convocation.

Many years afore-passed, I have ever been ready to go when I have been commanded, and yet I have as good a will as ever I had, but mine old body is now so oft clogged with infirmity and unwieldiness, that it will not answer to the effect of my desire and good mind, yet nevertheless with the good help and counsel also of Mr. Bartlot, I shall do as much as I may to make me so strong as it will be, and have had communication at large with the said Mr. Doctor Lee, touching our intended business. I am very glad that he shall be at York at this season, for at the last convocation where as was granted unto the king's highness the great sum of money to be paid in five years, with the recognising his grace to be *supremum caput, &c.* I had very little help, but myself. Albeit the king's highness said that he would have sent other folks after me, which came not: so that therefore the king's causes were the longer in treating and reasoning ere they came to good effect and conclusion. The prelates and clergy there will not in any wise give firm credence to report of any acts that be

passed here, unless the same be shewed unto them authentically,
36 either under seal, or otherwise, or the king's most honourable letters addressed accordingly. These two things in mine opinion, must both be done, for without the same, the prelates and clergy of the north parties being far from knowledge of the king's most high pleasure, will not for any credence, be hasty to proceed to any strange acts, but will esteem their reasons and learning, to be as effectual as other be. I write the more at large unto you herein, because, as it shall please you, and as ye shall seem good, the matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have come now unto you myself, but I assure you, I dare not as yet come into the open air. So soon as I may, it shall be my first pilgrimage by the grace of God, who ever preserve you mine own good master.

At Maribone this Monday the twenty-first day of April.

Your own priest

and beadsman,

T. Magnus.

[To . . . right worshipful and mine . . ne very good master Mr. Cromwell be this delivered.]

## Number XXII. [p. 80.]

*A protestation made by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, against all the acts passed in the parliament to the prejudice of the church.*

*Protestatio archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*

1531. p. 120. In Dei nomine. Amen.

Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo primo, indictione quintâ, pontificatûs reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis divinâ providentiâ illius nominis papæ septimi, anno nono, mensis vero Februarii die vigesimo quarto: in quodam superiori cubiculo sive camerâ infra manerium reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Willielmi permissione divinâ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis, et apostolicæ sedis legati, de Lambithe Wintoniensis diœceseos situatum, in nostrorum notariorum publicorum, subscriptorum, ac testium inferius nominatorum, præsentiâ constitutus personaliter idem reverendissimus in Christo pater, quandam protestationem, in scriptis redactam, fecit, et interposuit, ac palam et publice protestatus est, cæteraque fecit et exercuit prout, et quemadmodum quâdam papyri schedulâ, quam manibus suis tunc tenens publice legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem schedulæ tenor sequitur, et est talis.

In Dei nomine. Amen.

Nos Willielmus permissione divinâ Cantuariensis archiepi- 37
scopus totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, protestamur publice et expresse, pro nobis, et sanctâ ecclesiâ nostrâ metropoliticâ Cantuariensi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, sicuti neque sanâ conscientiâ possumus, *alicui statuto* in præsenti parliamento apud fratres prædicatores London. tertio die mensis Novembris anno Domini 1529. et anno regni regis Henrici Octavi 21. inchoato, et abinde usque ad Westmonasterium prorogato, & ibidem huc usque continuato, *edito*, seu *dein-*

*ceps edendo,* quatenus statuta hujusmodi, seu eorum aliquod, in derogationem *Romani pontificis*, aut *sedis apostolicæ;* vel damnum præjudicium, sive restrictionem *ecclesiasticæ potestatis;* aut in subversionem, enervationem, seu derogationem, vel diminutionem, *jurium, consuetudinum, privilegiorum, prærogativarum, præeminentiarum*, seu *libertatis ecclesiæ nostræ metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis,* prædictæ tendere dignoscuntur, *quomodolibet consentire;* sed ad omnem juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debebit, eisdem *dissentire, reclamare, contradicere;* ac *dissentimus, reclamamus,* et *contradicimus* in his scriptis. Super quibus omnibus, et singulis præmissis, idem reverendissimus pater nos notarios publicos subscriptos sibi unum, vel plura, publicum seu publica, instrumentum sive instrumenta, exinde conficere debite et instanter requisivit et rogavit.

Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die, et loco prædictis; præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et probis viris, magistris Johanne Cocks, legum doctore: Rogero Harman theologiæ baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, clerico: et Willielmo Waren literato, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Istud instrumentum similiter erat subscriptum manibus prædictorum trium notariorum, *with the foregoing instrument; which was that of the submission of the clergy. They were*

William Potkyn, John Hering, and Thomas Argal.

*This was copied out of a MS. in my lord Longueville's library*[15].

[15] [This document has been printed in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 746, with a reference to Warham's Register *in ann.* There can be no doubt of the correctness of the text, though the editor regrets that he has not had the opportunity of consulting the Longueville MSS. now in the possession of lord Calthorpe. The variations in the two copies were confined to the spelling of words.]

## Number XXIII. [p. 82.]

*To the king. From Edmund Bonner at Marseilles.*

*A letter of Bonner's upon his reading the king's appeal to the pope. An original.*

Cotton libr. Vitell. B. xiv. fol. 75.

PLEASETH it your highness to be advertised, that sythen my last letters sent unto the same of the fourth of this present by Thadeus the curror, wherein I declared in what terms were the proceedings here, I was commanded by my lord of Win- 38
chester and other your highness' ambassadors here, to intimate unto the pope's person, if the same were possible to do, all such provocations and appeals which your highness heretofore had made unto the general council, and sent hither to be intimated accordingly. Whereupon desiring Mr. Penyston to take the pains with me unto the pope's palace for the expedition of an act concerning your highness, and he right glad and very well content to do the same: I repaired with him thither the seventh of this present, in the morning, and albeit that at the beginning some resistance and contradiction was made that we should not come unto the pope, which as then was in manner full ready to come unto the consistory; and therefore not accustomed with other business to be interrupted, yet in conclusion we came to that chamber where the pope stood between two cardinals, de Medices, and Lorayne, ready apparelled with his stole towards the consistory.

And incontinently upon my coming thither, the pope, whose sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers times, making a good pause in one place, in which time I desired the datary to advertise his holiness that I desired to speak with him. And albeit the datary made no little difficulty therein thinking the time and place not most convenient, yet perceiving that upon refusal I would have gone forthwith to the pope, he advertised the pope of my said desire. And his holiness dismissing as then the said cardinals, and letting his vesture fall went to a window in the said chamber calling me unto him, at what time (doing reverence accustomed) I shewed unto his holiness how that your highness had given me express and

straight commandment to intimate unto him, how that your grace had first solemnly provoked and also after that appealed unto the general council, submitting yourself to the tuition and defence thereof, which provocation and appeals I said I had under authentic writings then with me to shew for that purpose. Declaring that your highness was moved thus to do upon reasonable causes and grounds expressed in the said provocation and appeals, and yet nevertheless so tempering your doings that being a good and catholic prince, and proceeding thereafter, your grace minded not any thing to say, do, or go about against the holy catholic and apostolic church, or the authority of the see, otherwise than was the office of a good catholic prince, and chancing so to do indeed intended in time and place according, catholically to reform and amend the same. And herewithal I drew out the said writing shewing his said holiness that I brought the same for proof of the premises and that his holiness might see and perceive all the same, adding hereunto that your highness used these remedies not in any contempt other of the church, the see, or of his holiness, but only upon causes expressed in the said writings. Desiring also his holiness that although in times passed it liked him to shew unto me much benevolence and kindness whereby I must and did account myself greatly bounden unto the same, yet considering the allegiance a subject must and doth of right bear chiefly unto his sovereign lord, he would take all my doings in good part, and not to ascribe any unkindness unto
39 me in this behalf, but only to consider that a subject and servant must do his master's commandment.

The pope having this for a breakfast, only pulled down his head to his shoulders after the Ytalion fashion, and said that because he was as then fully ready to go to the consistory he would not tarry to hear or see the said writings; but willed me to come at afternoon and he would gladly give me audience in all the same, and other things that I would propose or do, whereupon his holiness departing straight to the consistory, I returned to your said ambassadors, telling them what I had done, and what answer I had. That afternoon I and Mr. Penyston (whom I intended as well in the pope's answers, as also in other my doing, to use as a witness if the cause should so require,) repaired to the palace, and because that audience

was assigned unto many, and among others unto the ambassador of Millan, I tarried there the space of an hour and half, and finally was called into the pope's secret chamber, where (taking with me Mr. Penyston) I found his holiness having only with him Godsadyn of Bononie; the pope perceiving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon him, and a great deal the more, in my opinion, because that in the morning I did speak with his holiness alone, Master Penyston albeit being in the said chamber, and seeing what I did, yet not resorting nigh unto his said holiness. And to put the pope out of this fantasie, and somewhat to colour my intent, I told his holiness that the said Mr. Penyston was the gentleman that had brought unto me commission and letters from your highness, to intimate unto his holiness the provocation and appeal aforesaid; the pope percase not fully herewith satisfied, and supposing that I would (as I indeed intended) have record upon my doings, said, that it were good for him to have his datary, and also other of his council, to hear and see what were done in that behalf, and thereupon called for his datary, Symonetta, and Capisucca.

In the meanwhile, they being absent, and sent for, his holiness leaning in his window towards the west side, after a little pause turned unto me, and asked me of my lord of Winchester how he did, and likewise afterward of Mr. Brian; but after that sort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, saying those words; how doth Mr. Brian? is he here now? and after that I had answered hereunto, his holiness not a little seeming to lament the death of Mr. Doctor Bennet[16], whom he said was a faithful and good true servant unto your highness, inquired of me whether I was present at the time of his death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he said, that your highness would use his holiness after such sort, as it appears ye did: I said that your highness no less did marvel that his holiness having found so much benevolence and kindness at your hands in all times passed, would for acquittal shew such unkindness as of late he did, as well in not admitting your excusator with your lawful defences, as also pronouncing against your highness: and here we entered in communication upon two points, one was that his holi-

[16] [Bennet died Sept. 26, 1533.]

ness having committed in times past, and in most ample form, the cause into the realm, promising not to revoke the said commission, and over that to confirm the process and sentence of the commisaries, being two cardinals and legates of his see, should not especially at the point of sentence, have advoked the cause from their hands, retaining it at Rome, but at the leastway, should have committed the same to some other indifferent judges within your realm, making herein that it could not be retained at Rome, this argument; either his holiness would have the matter examined and ended, or he would not: if he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a place whither your highness might personally come, and else bound to send your proctor, or else in that place whither your highness neither could or ought personally to come unto; ne yet bound to send a proctor; if he intended in a place whither your highness might personally come, and else bound to send a proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he intended that the matter should be examined and ended in that place where your highness neither could or ought personally to come, nor yet bound to send a proctor then his holiness did not well and justly. Seeing that either your highness should thereby be compelled to make a proctor in matter of such importance against your will; or enforced to a thing unto you impossible, or else to be left without defence, having just cause of absence. And for so much as Rome was a place whither your highness could not ne yet ought personally come unto, and also was not bound to send thither your proctor: I said therefore that his holiness justly should not have retained the matter at Rome.

The second point was that your highness' cause being in the opinion of the best learned men in Christendome approved good and just, and so many ways known unto his holiness; the same should not so long have retained it in his hands without judgment: his holiness answering to the same, as touching the first point, said that if the queen (meaning the late wife of prince Arthur, calling her alway in his conversation, the queen) had not given an oath *de perhorræscentiâ et quod non sperabat consequi justiciæ complementum in partibus*, refusing the judges as suspect, he would not have advoked the matter at all, but been contented it should have been examined and

ended in your realm; but seeing she gave that oath and refused the judges as suspect, appealing also to his court, he said he might and ought to hear her, his promise made to your highness, which was qualified, notwithstanding.

And as touching the second point, his holiness said that your highness only was the default thereof, because ye would not send a proxy unto the cause, without which he said the same could not be determined, and albeit I replied as well against his answer to the first point, saying that his holiness could not yet thereupon retain the matter at Rome, and proceed against your highness there, and likewise against the second point, saying that your highness was not bound to send any proxy, yet his holiness seeing that the datary was come in upon this last conclusion, said only that all these matters had been oft, and many times fully talked upon at Rome, and therefore willed me to omit further communication thereupon, and to proceed to the declaration, and doing of such things, that I was specially sent for: whereupon making protestation of your highness' mind and intent towards the church, and see apostolic, not intending any thing to do in contempt of the same, I 41
exhibited unto his holiness the commission which your highness had sent unto me under your private seal (the other sent by Frances, the curror not being then come) desiring and asking according to the tenor thereof, and his holines delivering it to the datary commanded him to read it, and hearing in the same these words, *gravaminibus et injuriis nobis ab eodem sanctissimo patre illatis et comminatis*[17], began to look up after a new sort and said, *O questo è multo vero*, this is much true, meaning that was not true indeed. And verily sure not only in this but also in many parts of the said commission as they were read he shewed himself grievously offended: insomuch that when those words, *ad sacrosanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legitime et in loco congruenti celebrandum*, were read, he fell in a marvellous great choler and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by words: speaking with great vehemence, and say-

[Rymer. tom. xiv. p. 478.]

[17] [The King's appeal from the pope to a general council is printed in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. pp. 476–478. Two or three of the allusions in Bonner's letter, including this passage, are not to be met with in it as it now stands.]

ing, Why did not the king (meaning your majesty) when I wrote to my nuncio this year passed, to speak unto him for this general council, give no answer unto my said nuncio, but referred him for answer therein to the French king; at what time he might perceive by my doing (he said) that I was very well disposed and much spake for it: the thing so standing, now to speak of a general council, O good Lord, But well! his commission, and all other his writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he said, which last words methought he spake willing to hide his choler, and make me believe that he was nothing angry with this doings, where in very deed I perceived by many arguments that it was otherwise: and one amongst other was taken here for infallible with them that knoweth the pope's conditions, that he was continually folding up and unwinding of his handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler. And albeit he was loath to leave conversation of this general council to ease his stomach, yet at the last he commanded the datary to read further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reading of those clauses, *si oporteat reverendis patribus, &c.* and *post* and his holiness eftsones chafed greatly; finally saying, *Questo e buon fiatto*, this is but well done. And what time that clause *Protestando, &c.* and also that other, *Nos ad ea juris et facti remedia,* was read by the datary, he caused him to read them again; which done, his holiness not a little chafing with himself asked what I had more. And then I, repeating my protestation, did exhibit unto him your highness' provocation, which incontinently he delivered to the datary to read, and in this also he found himself much grieved, noting in the beginning not only those words *archiepiscopo Eboracensi*, but also thus, *citra tamen revocationem quorumcumque procuratorum:* at which he made good pause, conjecturing thereby as I took it, that there were proctors made which might exercise and appear in your name if your highness had therewith been contented. The datary reading further and coming to those words *quod non est nostræ intentionis, &c.* his holiness with great vehemence said, that though your highness in your protestation had respect to the church and authority of the see apostolic, yet you had none to him at all; whereunto I answered and said it was not so, as his holi-

[Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 476.] Ibid. [p. 477.] [Ibid.]

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ness should perceive in the other writings. But of truth, say what I say would, there was in manner never a clause in the said provocation that so pleased him, but he would wring and wrest it to the worst sense; as in annotations upon the margins as well of provocation as also appellations, I shall fully declare unto your highness; which yet nevertheless at this time because it cannot be perfect at the departure of this bearer I do not send it to your highness. As the datary was reading this provocation, came in Symoneta, and even at those words, *Sed deinde publico judicio.* Wherein the pope snarling and saying that *publicum ecclesiæ judicium* was never had, Symoneta said now syne they spake of that archbishop, I suppose, that made that good process, the cause depending before your holiness in the consistory. Ah said the pope, a worshipful process and judgment. And as he was chafing hereupon, there came one of his chamber to tell him that the French king did come to speak with his holiness: and incontinently thereupon the pope made great haste to meet him; and even at the very door they met together, the French king making a very low courtesy, putting off his bonnet, and keeping it off, till he came to a table in the pope's chamber.

And albeit I much doubt not that the French king knew right well what doings was in hand, advertised thereof by one Nicolas his secretary and also of the pope's privy chamber, yet his grace asked of the pope what his holiness did. And the same gave answer and said, *Questi signori Inglesi sono stati qua per intimare certi provocationi et appellationi et di fare altre cose,* These gentlemen of England be here to intimate certain provocations and appeals and to do other things. Whereupon they two secretly did fall in conversation; but what it was I cannot tell: the French king his back was against me, and I understood not what he said. Truth it is, when the French king had spoke a long time and made end of his tale, the pope said those words, *Questa e per la bonta vostra,* This is of your goodness. Proceeding further in conversation and laughing merrily together they so talked the space of three quarters of an hour, it being then after six of the clock in the night, and in conclusion the French king making great reverence took his leave, but the pope went with

him to the chamber door, and albeit the French king would not have suffered him further to have gone, yet his holiness following him out of that door took him by the hand and brought him to the door of the second chamber, where making great ceremonies the one to the other, they departed, the pope returning to his chamber, and seeing me stand at door, willed me to enter with him. And so I did having with me Mr. Penyston. And then and there the datary read out the rest of the provocation: interrupted yet many times by the pope, which oft for the easement of his mind made his interpretations and notes, especially if it touched the marriage which of late your highness made with the queen that now is, or the process made by the archbishop of Canturburie.

The provocations read, with much ado, I under protestation foresaid, did intimate unto him the two appeals, made also by your highness to the general council afore my lord of Win-
43 chester, which his holiness delivered to his datary commanding him to read them. Noting and marking well all manner and contents thereof: and no less offended thereby than he was with the other. In the reading whereof came in the cardinal de Medices, which stood bareheaded continually during the reading thereof, casting down his head to the ground, and not a little marvelling, as appeared unto me, that the pope was so troubled and moved. When this was done, his holiness said that forasmuch as this was a matter of great weight, and importance, touching also the cardinals, he would consult and deliberate with them hereupon in the consistory, and afterwards give me answer therein. I contented therewith, desired further his holiness that forasmuch as he had heard all the provocations and appeals, seeing also the original writings thereupon, that I might have them again; because I said I must as well to the cardinals as also other judges and persons having interest, make intimation accordingly. His holiness in the beginning was precise that I should in no wise have them; but they to remain with him. Nevertheless afterward perceiving that I much stood upon it, he answered and said that likewise as concerning the provocation and appeals with my petition concerning the same, he intended to give me answer after that he had consulted with the cardinals in the consistory, so also he intended to do concerning the redelivering of the

said writings. And hereupon departed from him about eight of the clock in the night, having remained afar more than three hours, I repaired to my lord of Winchester and other your highness' ambassadors here, telling them what I had done, and what answer also was given unto me.

On the morrow following which was Saturday, albeit there was consistory yet the same was extraordinary, chiefly for the declaration of the new cardinals, the bishop of Beziers[18], the bishop of Langres, the great master's nephew, and the duke of Albany his brother. And in the said consistory as far as I could learn there was nothing specially spoken or determined concerning the said provocation and appeals, or answer to be given unto the same. Upon Sunday the 9th of this present at afternoon having the said Mr. Penyston with me I repaired to the palace, and spake there with the datary to know when I should have answer of the pope, and he told me that the day following should be the consistory, and that the pope after the same would give me answer, and albeit that the said datary thus said unto me, yet willing to be sure, I induced one Carol de Blanchis my great acquaintance and one of the chief cameraries with the pope, to enquire of his holiness when I should receive and have answer to the provocation and appeals, with other things purposed afore by me unto his holiness. And his holiness gave unto him to be declared unto me the selfsame answer that the datary afore had given unto me, whereupon I departed for that day.

Upon Monday the 10th of this was ordinary consistory, and thither I, having with me the said Mr. Penyston, repaired. Tarrying there also unto the time that all were commanded forth, saving the cardinals: and understanding then eftsoons by the datary that I must come again at afternoon for answer, I did for that time depart, resorting at afternoon unto the 44
palace, and after that I had tarried there ii hours, in the chamber next unto the pope, which all that time continually was occupied in blessing of beads, giving his blessing, and suffering the ladies and nobles of the court to kiss his foot: I was

[18] [The four cardinals had been created the day before, i.e. November 7th, 1533. Bonner appears to have, in the haste of writing, mistaken the name of the new cardinal's see. The person alluded to is John de Venneur, bishop of Lisieux. See Sleidan, fol. 131, also Onuphrii Panvinii Pontifices et Cardinales, p. 369. ed. Ven. 1557.]

called in unto him, there being there only in the chamber cardinal Salviati and the datary. At my coming he said unto me, *Domine doctor quid vultis?* And I told his holiness that I looked for answer according as his holiness had promised me afore. And then he said that his mind towards your highness always hath been to minister justice, and do pleasure unto you, albeit it hath not been so taken. And he never unjustly grieved your grace that he knoweth, nor intendeth hereafter to do. And as concerning the appellation made by your highness unto the general council, he said that forasmuch as there was a constitution of pope Pius his predecessor, that did condemn and reprove all such appeals, he therefore did reject your grace's appeals as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touching the general council, he would do his best diligence therein that it should take effect; repeating again how in times passed he had used always diligence for that purpose, writing therein to all Christian princes, your highness yet not answering thereunto, but remitting his nuncio to the French king. Which notwithstanding he saith he will yet do his duty, and procure the best he can that it shall succeed, nevertheless adding that he thought when it were well considered, that the king of England ought not, nor had authority to call any general council, but that the convoking thereof appertained unto his holiness. Finally concluding, that for his part he would always do his duty as appertained. And as concerning the restitution of the public writings made upon the provocation and appeals foresaid, he said he would not restore them, but would keep them, and that safely. Saying therewithal, that I might have when I would, *ab episcopo Vintoniensi*, and other afore whom they were made, as many as I would. And albeit that I shewed him his own law to be, that he could not detain them, yet he saying that it was but *de lanâ caprinâ*, and refusing to make redelivery thereof, commanded the datary only to give me the answer in writing, snd so bade me farewell.

Going with the datary to his chamber for that purpose, I perceived there that the answer was already written, howbeit that it was not touching so many things as the pope had by mouth afore declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the datary's hand, according to the accustomed manner. And

requiring the datary to make it perfect, and deliver it unto me subscribed with his hand; he willed me to come the day following early in the morning, and I should have it. Whereupon I departed, and came in the morning to the datary's chamber in the palace, but he was gone afore to the pope. Wherefore repairing to the pope's chamber and finding him there, I required the said answer in writing. And he going with me to his chamber, delivered me for answer the self-same that was written the day before, adding only in the end these words, *Et hæc ad præsens, salvo jure, latius et particularius* 45 *si videbimus respondendi;* subscribing the same with his own hand, keeping one other copy with himself. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my lord of Winchester, and other your high ambassadors, to shew them all the same.

And by this your highness may now perceive, whether that the pope will stay process upon any your provocations or appeals, howsoever they be made, or after what sort they be intimated unto him, and also whether that unto such time he receive inhibition from the general council, his process shall be taken in law as nought. I fear that at his return to Rome, he will do much displeasure, if by some good policy he be not stayed. The original answer delivered unto me by the datary foresaid, I do at this time send unto your highness, only retaining with me the copy thereof.

And since albeit your grace's commandment, declared by your letters dated at Chobham the 10th of August last passed, sent unto me seemed to be, that devising some business of my own, I should follow always and be present where the pope resorteth, still residing and demouring, noting, marking and ensearching what is done, and giving your highness diligent advertisement thereof, as the case and importance of the matter should require; yet forasmuch as in this late congress, there was nothing in manner done by the pope at the contemplation of any in your highness' favour, and that the appellations and provocations of your highness being intimated, it is not like any thing of great moment to be looked for, especially all things standing as they do; I not knowing your highness' further determinate pleasure, and thinking that by reason of the premises, your highness would not that I should further enter-

prise in that behalf, have therefore (the pope being gone towards Rome from hence the twelfth of this present) taken my journey towards Lyons the thirteenth of the same, your highness' ambassadors by reason of the departure of the French king's so also doing: and from thence I intend towards your grace's realm, unless I receive your commandment to the contrary.

To declare unto your highness, in what perplexity and anxiety of mind I was in until that this intimation was made, what zeal and affection I have borne therein, how glad I would have been such things might have come to pass, which your highness so much hath desired, and generally of all my doings here, without fear or displeasure of any man, it shall not be needful. Partly because I trust your highness doubteth not thereof, and partly because the bearer hereof, until Mr. Brian, to whom I must and do account myself much bounden unto, will I suppose at large declare all the same, with other things here done; of whom your highness I doubt not shall perceive that although the Frenchmen were made privy of our doings concerning the intimation, and in manner willing the same, two or three days afore the pope's departure, yet now for excuse they say that all their matters and yours also be destroyed thereby. And thus most humbly I recommend me unto your highness
46 beseeching Almighty God to conserve the same in felicity many years.

From Marselles,
the 13th of Novembre, 1533.
your highness' most bound subject,
and poor servant,
Edmond Boner.[7]

[7] [This letter has been much injured by fire, and is otherwise very illegibly written. The letter from the king to Bonner, directing him to make the appeal, is dated August 18th, and is printed in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, Number 4.]

## Number XXIV. [p. 84.]

*Cranmer's letter,*[8] *for an appeal to be made in his name. An original.*

Cotton library, Cleop. E. vi. fol. 234.

In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I stand in dread, lest our holy father the pope, do intend to make some manner of prejudicial process against me and my church. And therefore having probable conjectures thereof, I have provoked from his holiness to the general council, accordingly as the king's highness and his council have advised me to do. Which my provocation and a procuracy under my seal, I do send unto you herewith, desiring you right heartily to have me commended to my lord of Winchester, and with his advice and counsel to intimate the said provocation, after the best manner that his lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the king's highness commanded me thus to do, as ye shall (I trust) further perceive by his grace's letters, nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this mine own desire ye will be contented to take this pains, though his highness shall percase forget to write unto you therein: which your pains and kindness (if it shall lie in me in time to come to recompense) I will not forget it with God's grace, who preserve you as myself.

From Lambeth, the twenty-second day of November.

Thomas Cantuar.[8]

[8] [This letter to Bonner had been carelessly printed by Strype in his Memorials of Cranmer, p. 22. It appears with the mistakes corrected in the new edition published by the Ecclesiastical History Society, p. 45, and also in the 'Letters and Remains,' p. 268.]

47 ## Number XXV. [p. 86.]

*A minute of a letter sent by the king to his ambassador at Rome.*

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well.

And forasmuch as not only by the relation and report of our trusty chaplain master doctor Boner, but also by certain letters written by sir Gregory, afore the despatch of doctor Boner, upon the lively communications had by the pope to the emperor, in justification and favour of our cause; by which it appeareth unto us, that his holiness favouring the justice of our great cause, maketh countenance and demonstration now to shew himself more propense and ready to the administration of justice to our contentation therein, than he hath been accustomed in times past: descending for demonstration hereof as you take it to those particularities following, which sir Gregory hath also sent by way of instructions to Bonner; that is to say, that in case we will be content to send a mandate requiring the remission of our cause into an indifferent place, he would be content to appoint *locum indifferentem*, and a legate and two auditors from thence, *ad formandum processum*, reserving always the judgment thereof to himself; or else if we will consent and be agreeable, inducing also our good brother and perpetual ally the French king, to be also content to conclude and establish for three or four years, a general truce; that then the pope's holiness is pleased, if we and our said good brother will agree thereunto, to indict with all celerity a general council, whereunto his holiness would remit our cause to be finished and determined. Which overtures being also proponed and declared unto us by the pope's nuncio here, be set forth by him, and also in a letter to him, as though they had been by the said sir Gregory in our name desired of the pope's holiness, and by him assented to, for our contentation and satisfaction, in that behalf: whereof we do not a little marvel, considering that we of late never gave unto the said sir Gregory or any other, any such commission or instructions for that purpose, but fully to the contrary. [fol. 92.]

Ex MSS. Rymeri. Hen. VIII. vol. iv. art. 31. [fol. 91.]

Nevertheless forasmuch as both by the relation of our said

chaplain and by the purport and effect of the foresaid letters, instructions, and also by the behaviour of the pope's ambassador here, and by such overtures as he on the pope's behalf hath made unto us, we now considering the benevolent and toward mind of his said holiness expressed and declared in the same, have much cause to conceive in our mind, as we do indeed, good hope, that he deeply pondering the justness of our said cause, will now take more respect to put us in more quietness therein, than we had any expectation heretofore: and therefore our pleasure is that ye discreetly relating to his holiness in what good part we do accept and take his overtures and persuasions, do give unto him our right hearty thanks for the same, adding thereunto that we verily trust and be now of that 48
opinion that his holiness calling to his remembrance the manifold commodities, profits, and gratuities heretofore shewed by us, to him, and the see apostolic, demanding nothing for reciprocation of friendship and mutual amity to be shewed at his hand, but only justice in our great matter, according to the laws of God, and the ordinances of the holy counsels, for the increase of virtue, extirpation of vice, and quiet of all Christendom, established by our forefathers, will now in discharge of his duty towards God, shewing unto us correspondence of friendship according to our deserts, putting apart all shadows of delays, more benevolently extend his good will and gratuity towards us in the acceleration and speedy finishing of our said cause, than those overtures do purport, which if it come so to pass, his holiness may be well assured to have us and our realm as benevolent and loving towards him and the see apostolic as hath at any time heretofore been accustomed. And as concerning the general truce for three or four years, albeit we do inwardly consider the great good thereof, and be of our own nature as much inclined thereunto as any prince christened, and on the other side as much desirous to avoid contention, whereupon many times ensueth extremity, to the hurt of many; yet nevertheless two things at this time enforceth us to abstain and forbear suddenly to consent to the same: one is, that we being afflicted, troubled, and encumbered in our own conscience, and our realm thereby greatly perplexed, cannot suddenly resolve ourself to innovate or renew any perfect establishment of peace with other, till we may be satisfied and have pure and sincere peace in our own heart and cause;

seeing that it is only will and unkind stubbornness with oblivion of former kindness, which occasions the let of the speedy finishing of our cause, which your[9] ye may say that his holiness if it please him may soon redress, having so good grounds for our part as he haveth, if he will heartily thereto apply him, and then some good effect might happe to come thereof. Another cause there is also that we being most perfectly by an indissoluble amity and league unite and knit unto our good brother and perpetual ally the French king, may not in any wise, will[10] put our consent to any such request without the knowledge and assent of our said good brother, and other our and his confederates: and notwithstanding if his holiness thinketh that mine endeavour and labour herein may do him any gratuity and pleasure, or confer to his purpose in anything, he advertising us thereof, shall well perceive that there shall lack no good diligence in us, to set forth such things as may stand with our honour, and be also pleasant to him, he shewing to us some correspondence of kindness in this our just and weighty cause. And as touching our consent to the indiction of a general council, though sundry respects and considerations at the time now present, move us to think it necessary, and that we nothing doubt but our cause being remitted to the same, we should with all convenient celerity, that begun, have our desired end therein; yet we being now in very good hope [fol. 94.] that the pope's holiness at the last digesting thoroughly the justice of our cause, will so use us in the same that according to truth and equity, good and speedy success thereof shall follow in either admitting the excusatory, or else in remitting
49 both the knowledge of the fact and final decision of the cause into this realm where it was begun, according to the old sanctions of general councils and divers of his predecessors' assents, and as he himself confesseth in his commission given unto the cardinal for this purpose; we have now also suspended therefore our assent and consent thereunto upon two respects, whereof the first requireth a necessary suspension of our said consent, forasmuch as the same dependeth upon the assent of our said good brother and other our confederates, and that the one of us without the other can ne will in any wise con-

[9] [Some word appears to have been accidentally omitted.]

[10] [The word *ne* has probably been omitted before *will*.]

sent to any act of such high importance as this is, which toucheth the whole body of Christendome.

The second is, that in our opinion which our pleasure is ye with good dexterity declare unto his holiness the good respect had of the state of the world, and of the time present; it were not expedient for the pope himself to consent thereunto, considering that the emperor is in manner compelled by the importunity of the Germaynes and the Lutheran sect to cause the pope to indict the said council. And how the said Germaynes be minded towards him and the see apostolic, we doubt not but his holiness doth deeply ponder and consider. But ye shall say unto the pope's holiness on our behalf, that finding him towards us good and kind, briefly expediting our cause as afore is rehearsed, whereof we now perceive some likelihood, and perceiving him to continue and persevere earnestly minding the speedy end and determination thereof, for our satisfaction, we
[fol. 95.] can do no less for reacquittal thereof, than to procure and practise by all ways and means, as well with our said good brother as with all other our allies, confederates and friends, to do all things that may be most for the surety of his holiness and the commodity of the see apostolic, which we shall not fail to do, if he will disclose to us the means how. For as touching the sending of a mandate to require that the cause might be heard in an indifferent place, with reservation of the sentence to himself, ye shall signify unto his holiness that albeit we well considering his toward mind for the speedy finishing of our said cause if we were a private person would nothing mistrust to consent to his said overtures, ne the good effects that might ensue of the same; yet nevertheless this persuasion so toucheth contrarily to general councils, to the liberty, regality, and jurisdiction of all princes, and most especially to our prerogative royal, privileges of our realm, whereof we be head and sovereign; within the which, by the ancient laws of the same, all causes of matrimony there begun and solemnized, coming after in question, ought to have their original commencement, and final discusse and decision by the English church. Which things well considered, he having also regard to his oath, in the receipt of his dignity, which he there actually giveth for observance both of the general councils, and the antique laws of the fathers of the church; considering also with himself,

how we at the time of our coronation, be likewise obliged by oath, to support and maintain, the immunities and princely
50 liberties of our realm and crown, which to contrary, I make myself sure his holiness well informed will never require, since it is prohibited both by God's precept, and law of nature, by these words, *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.*

Wherefore we firmly trust, that his holiness, pondering and weighing in the balance of his just heart and equal judgment, [fol. 96.] these most urgent both reasons and causes, with the respect of his duty to God, in ministering justice and equity; and considering also the obligation, which we as king though not worthy, but by his election, be bound to our realm, *silicet defendere previlegias coronæ et regni*, will not at this time think any unkindness in us, though that this his request, *silicet* to send a mandate, or to have it in any other place than in this realm determined by us, at this time be not accepted. For surely it so highly touched the prerogative royal of this realm, that though I were minded to do it, yet must abstain without the assent of our court of parliament, which I think verily will never condescend to it. Nevertheless ye may shew unto his holiness, that for this offer, we ascribe none unkindness to him, but rather take it in good part; considering that by his ambassador we do perceive, that his mind was to gratify and do pleasure herein to us, this overture proceeding upon Gregory's motion, wherein to speak of that sort, I ensure you of us he had none commission, but rather to the contrary. And so we will ye shew the pope; assuring farther his holiness, that we be right sorry that this overture was no more reasonable, or consonant to our honour. For surely in all reasonable things, we would gladly shew ourself benevolent to him, as long as we perceive any manner of gratuity in him.

More ye may say, that we think that we nor our realm have hitherto given any occasion to his holiness, whereby he should be moved at the contemplation of any privie person, to attempt the violation of the immunities and liberties of this our realm, or to bring the same in any public contention, whereby he may compel us in the maintenance of them, to shew and declare many things peradventure it unknown prejudicial and hurtful to the papal dignity, *as it is now used*, which not compelled we intend not to do. Yet another great

reason as we think you may shew his holiness, gathered out
[fol. 97.] of his own law, which is this: I being a common person, am not bounden *in re arduâ*, as this is to appear in his court, and I being not bounden to appear, am not bound to send a proctor. Wherefore his own law sheweth evidently, that this matter ought not to be determined by his court, but *per Anglicanam ecclesiam:* for if his court were judge, I should be obliged to appear there. And ye shall further understand, that we have conceived by certain letters lately sent unto us by the said sir Gregory de Cassalis, that the pope's holiness, amongst other persuasions, in the furtherance of our cause shewed unto him, that the law being of the contrary part of our cause, do agree, that the pope in our cause may not dispense, without an urgent cause. Which opinion his holiness thinketh much more doth advance the goodness of our matter, than the general 51
opinion of the divines and lawyers on our part, which do affirm, that the pope in no wise may dispense. Which matter being also persuaded by his holiness the emperor, who declared, that at the time of the dispensation, there was extreme wars between our dearest father of noble memory, whose soul God pardon, and king Ferdinando, father to the queen. And for pacifying thereof the said dispensation was obtained; whereupon the marriage ensued: which beareth a visage of an urgent cause, if it were true, as it is not. And therefore, as well for the satisfaction of the pope's holiness in that behalf, as for a clear resolution of the doubt by his holiness propounded, whether the queen were *cognita* by our brother prince Arthure, or no; our pleasure is, that ye shall signify to his holiness, that in the league between our said dearest father, and the said Ferdinando, renoveled and concluded, sealed and signed with the said king Ferdinando, and the queen his wife's hands, whereupon the dispensation for the marriage between us and the queen was obtained, appeareth no manner of cause. But plainly declaring the said two princes to be then and afore more perfectly established, united, and confederate in friendship and amity, than any other princes of Christendom, setteth forth the cause of the dispensation and
[fol. 98.] agreement for the said marriage, to be only for continuance and augmentation of their said amity, and for the virtuous modesty and other qualities of the queen. In which league is

also plainly mentioned and expressed in two places thereof, that the marriage between our said brother and her was solemnized and perfectly consummate; whereby, and by the depositions of a great number of noble and honourable personages, which heretofore by their oaths have been examined upon the same, manifestly and plainly appeareth to all indifferent hearers, without doubt thereof, that the queen was carnally known by our said brother prince Arthur; and the same dispensation so proceeding, without urgent cause to be reputed *invalida*. The transumpt of which league authentically transumed, we send unto you herewith, to the intent ye may the better perceive the effect of the same. And finally, ye shall further signify to his holiness, that of the good success of this our cause, dependeth the surety of our succession, and thereupon ensueth the rest, peace, and tranquillity of all our realm, and by the protracting thereof many perilous dangers may and is like to ensue to the same, which above all things, we and our realm ought to have respect unto.

Wherefore it is more convenient, and consonant to reason and equity, that this our said cause should be determined by them, to whose damage or commodity the success of the cause may ensue, and not by his holiness, which can have no certain knowledge of the state of the same. And yet nevertheless, if his holiness remitting the final discusse of the principal cause to our English church, as appertaineth, and after that, of his gratuity ratify and confirm such sentence as they shall determine in the same, shall thereby not only acquire Christian obedience of us and our people, much to his commodity and
52 contentation, and also profitable to the see apostolic, but also pacify the contradiction, to the rest and quietness of all Christendom. Willing you by these and other discreet persuasions, as ye can with all diligence and dexterity to allure his holiness, being now somewhat attempered and disposed to do us good, [fol. 99.] to condescend to more benevolent gratuities, than as yet is set forth by the said overtures; and to ascertain us with all diligence and celerity, what towardness ye shall perceive in him in this behalf, not minding that ye shall declare this as our resolute answer. But upon other and further overtures, and after more deliberation and consultation upon these weighty causes, we will study and ensearch, by all honourable ways

and means that we can, to concur with the towardly mind of his holiness, if he earnestly will apply himself, and persevere in such opinion, as may be for the acceleration of the end of our said cause: willing you, with all diligence and dexterity, to put your good endeavour to the same; and likewise to procure the said sir Gregory, according to our expectation in that behalf.

## Number XXVI. [p. 92.]

*The judgment of the convocation of the province of York, rejecting the pope's authority.*

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo principi et domino, domino Henrico Octavo Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ, regi, fidei defensori, et domino Hiberniæ, Edwardus, permissione divinâ, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, salutem in eo, per quem reges regnant, et principes dominantur. [Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 492.]

Vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium, innotescimus et significamus, quod, cum juxta vestræ regiæ majestatis mandatum, coram prælatis et clero Eboracensi, provinciæ in sacrâ sinodo provinciali, sive convocatione prælatorum et cleri ejusdem provinciæ Eboracensis, in domo capitulari ecclesiæ metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto die mensis Maii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto jam instanti, celebratâ, et de diebus in dies continuatâ congregatis, proposita fuit sequens conclusio,

*Quod episcopus Romanus, in sacris scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus episcopus.*

Ac insuper, ex parte præsidentium in câdem sinodo, per nos deputatorum memorati prælati et clerus, rogati et requisiti ut illam conclusionem suo consensu confirmarent et corroborarent, si illam veritati consonam, et sacris scripturis non repugnantem, existimarent aut judicarent, tandem dicti prælati, et clerus Eboracensis provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem tractatum in eâ parte habitum, ac maturam deliberationem, unanimiter et concorditer, nemine eorum discrepante, prædictam conclusionem fuisse et esse veram affirmârunt, et eidem concorditer consenserunt.

53 Quæ omnia et singula vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium, intimamus et significamus.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus.

Dat. in manerio nostro de Cawodd, primo die mensis Junii, anno Domini, millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, et nostræ consecrationis anno tertio.

## Number XXVII. [p. 92.]

*The judgment of the university of Oxford, rejecting the pope's authority.*

*In a book, styled,* Registrum, sive Epistolæ Regum et Magnatum ad Academiam Oxoniensem una cum Responsis. *MS. Archiv. A.* 117. *ad an.* 1534. *P.* 127[11].

*Part of the king's letter to the university.*

[After the accomplishment whereof]——

[fol. 127 d.] —— our[12] pleasure and commandment is, that ye, as shall beseem men of virtue and profound literature, diligently intreating, examining, and discussing a certain question sent from us to you, concerning the power and primacy of the bishop of Rome; send again to us in writing under your common seal, with convenient speed and celerity, your mind, sentence, and assertion of the question, according to the mere and sincere truth of the same: willing you to give credence to our trusty and well-beloved, this bringer, your commissary, as well touching our further pleasure in the premises, as for other matters, &c.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Grenewyche, the twenty-third day of May.

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*The university's answer to the king.*

[fol. 129.] Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, Joannes, permissione divinâ, Lincolniensis episcopus, almæ universitatis Oxoniensis cancellarius: necnon universus doctorum ac magistrorum, regentium et non regentium in cândem cœtus, salutem in Auctore salutis.

Quum illustrissimus simul ac potentissimus princeps et domi-

[11] [This volume is lettered on the back Arch. A. 166, and is numbered M. S. Bodl. 282. At the head of fol. 1 is written, Registrum sive liber epistolarum universitatis Oxoniensis ab anno Domini 1508 usque ad annum 1597.]

[12] [The beginning of the letter consists of a recommendation to the university, to elect the bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor.]

nus noster Henricus Octavus, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, assiduis peticionibus et querelis subditorum suorum in summo suo parliamento, *super*
54 *intollerabilibus exterarum potestatum, exactionibus nuper propositis, controversiisque* quibusdam habitis, super potestate ac jurisdictione Romani episcopi, variisque et urgentibus causis, contra eundem episcopum tunc ibidem expositis et declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut commodis suorum subditorum in hâc parte consuleret, et querelis satisfaceret: Ipse tanquam prudentissimus Solomon, sollicite curans quæ suorum sunt subditorum, quibus in hoc regno, divinâ disponente clementiâ, præest, altiusque secum considerans, quo pacto commodissimas regno suo sanciret leges; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra sacram scripturam aliquid statuat, (quam vel ad sanguinem usque defendere semper fuit, eritque paratissimus) solerti suo ingenio, sagacique industriâ, quandam quæstionem ad hanc ejus academiam Oxoniensem publice et solenniter, per doctores et magistros ejusdem disputandam transmisit: viz. *An Romanus episcopus habeat majorem aliquam jurisdictionem, sibi a Deo collatam in sacrâ scripturâ, in hoc regno Angliæ, quam alius quivis externus episcopus?* Mandavitque, ut habitâ super hâc quæstione maturâ deliberacione, et examinacione diligenti, quid sacræ literæ in hâc parte nostro judicio statuunt, eundem certiorem facere suo instrumento, sigillo communi nostræ universitatis, communito et firmato curaremus.

Nos igitur cancellarius, doctores ac magistri prædicti, sæpe reminiscentes, ac penitius apud nos pensitantes, quanta sit virtus, sanctitas, ac nostræ professioni quam consona res, et debita submissioni, obedientiæ, reverentiæ, ac charitati congrua, præmonstrare viam justitiæ ac veritatis cupientibus, sacrarum literarum vestigiis *inserrere, securiorique et tranquil- *Leg. insiliori conscientiâ, in lege Domini sacram, ut aiunt, suam an- stere.
choram reponere; non potuimus non invigilare, sedulo quin in peticione tam justæ ac honestâ, tanto principi (cui velut auspicatissimo nostro supremo moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus satisfaceremus. Post susceptam itaque per nos quæstionem antedictam, cum omni humilitate, devotione, ac debitâ reverentiâ, convocatis undique dictæ nostræ academiæ theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni quâ potuimus dili-

gentiâ, justitiæ zelo, relligione et conscientiâ incorruptâ, perscrutaremur tam sacræ scripturæ libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius a nobis evolutos, et exactissime collatos, repetitos et examinatos; deinde et disputacionibus solennibus, palam et publice habitis et celebratis, tandem in hanc sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus; viz. Romanum episcopum majorem aliquam jurisdictionem non habere, sibi a Deo collatam in sacrâ scripturâ, in hoc regno Angliæ, quam alium quemvis externum episcopum.

Quam nostram assertionem, sententiam, sive determinacionem, sic ex deliberacione discussam, ac juxta exigentiam statutorum et ordinacionum, hujus nostræ universitatis per nos conclusam, publice totius academiæ nomine, tanquam veram, certam, sacræque scripturæ consonam, affirmamus ——— testificamur per præsentes. In quorum omnium et *singulorum fidem et testimonium has literas fieri, et sigillo nostræ universitatis communi, roborari fecimus.

* Not very legible, but it seems it was *singulorum*.

Dat. in domo congregationis nostræ, vicesimo septimo die mensis Junii, anno a Christo nato millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto[13].

[13] [A copy of this is alluded to by Strype (Life of Cranmer, p. 26), which exists in the Cotton MSS. Cleopatra E. vi. fol. 209. See State Papers, vol. i. p. 426. It has been printed at length, but very incorrectly, by Wood, Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. vol. i. p. 259, and from Wood, in the Appendix to Tierney's edition of Dodd's Church History, vol. i. p. 415.]

55 **Number XXVIII. [p. 93.]**

*The judgment of the prior and chapter of Worcester, concerning the pope's authority.*

Ordo quidam observandus erga dominum regem Henricum Octavum, &c. et in quali æstimatione habebimus episcopum Romanum.

*Copied out of the register of Worcester.*

Quum ea sit non solum Christianæ religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, [ut] domino regi nostro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni et soli, post Christum Jesum Servatorem nostrum, debemus universa,) non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque animi devotionem, fidem et observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam, præstemus; sed etiam de eâdem fide et observantiâ nostrâ rationem quotiescunque postulabitur, reddamus, et palam omnibus, si res poscat libentissime testemur.

Noverint universi ad quos scriptum præsens pervenerit, quod nos Willielmus, prior ecclesiæ cathedralis, sive monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorniensis ordinis Sancti Benedicti et ejusdem loci conventus sive capitulum Wigorniensis dioceseos uno ore et voce, atque unanimi omnium consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillo nostro communi, in domo nostrâ capitulari dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, omnibus et singulis in perpetuum profitemur, testamur, ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos priorem et conventum, sive capitulum, et successores nostros omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque fidem, observantiam et obedientiam, semper præstaturos, erga dominum regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam reginam, uxorem ejusdem, et erga sobolem ejus ex eâdem Annâ legitime tam progenitam, quam progenerandam. Et quod hæc eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio.

Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et

perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus rex noster Henricus, est caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Item, quod episcopus Romanus, qui in suis bullis papæ nomen, usurpat, et summi pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam, in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus episcopus.

Item, quod nullus nostrum, in ullâ sacrâ concione, privatim vel publice habendâ, eundem episcopum Romanum appellabit nomine papæ, aut summi pontificis, sed nomine episcopi Romani, vel ecclesiæ Romanæ: et quod nullus nostrûm orabit pro eo tanquam papâ, sed tanquam episcopo Romano.

Item, quod soli dicto domino regi et succesoribus suis adhærebimus et ejus leges ac decreta manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et canonibus, qui contra legem divinam, et sacram scripturam, aut contra jura hujus regni esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. 56

Item, quod nullus nostrûm omnium, in ullâ, vel privatâ vel publicâ concione, quicquam ex sacris scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumat: sed quisque Christum, ejusque verba et facta, simpliciter, aperte, sincere, et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum scripturarum, et vere catholicorum et orthodoxorum doctorum, prædicabit catholice et orthodoxe.

Item, quod unusquisque nostrûm, in suis orationibus et comprecationibus, de more faciendis, primum omnium regem, tanquam supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et populi precibus commendabit; deinde reginam Annam, cum suâ sobole; tum demum archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, cum cæteris cleri ordinibus prout videbitur.

Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti prior et conventus, sive capitulum, et successores nostri, conscientiâ et jurisjurandi sacramento, nosmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia et singula prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium, huic scripto nostro, commune sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra nomina propriâ quisque manu scripsimus.

Dat. in domo nostrâ capitulari, 17 die mensis Augusti anno regni regis nostri Henrici Octavi, vicessimo sexto.

*Then follows an oath made to king Henry the VIIIth, agreeing exactly with that pag.* 146. *of the first vol. of the History of the Reformation: except, that the words* alonely

*in the first line, and* damage *in the last line but two of that oath, are wanting.*

Illustrissimo et potentissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro, Henrico Octavo, Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ regi, defensori fidei, domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo, capiti; vestri humiles subditi, et devotissimi oratores, Henricus Holbeche, prior ecclesiæ cathedralis Wigorniæ et ejusdem loci conventus, ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigorniensis dioceseos, reverentiam et obedientiam, tam excellenti et præpotenti principi debitas et condignas, cum omni subjectionis honore.

Noverit majestas vestra regia, quod nos prior et conventus memorati, non vi aut metu coacti, dolore, aut aliquâ aliâ sinistrâ machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis scientiis, animis deliberatis, merisque et spontaneis voluntatibus, pure, sponte et absolute, profitemur, spondemus, ac ad sancta Dei evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illustrissimæ vestræ regiæ majestati, singulari et summo domino nostro et patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremo immediate sub Christo capiti; quod posthac nulli externo imperatori, regi, principi aut prælato nec Romano pontifici (quem papam vocant) fidelitatem aut obedientiam, verbo vel scripto simpliciter, vel sub juramento, promittemus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, sed
57 omni tempore casu et conditione partes vestræ regiæ majestatis ac successorum vestrorum sequemur et observabimus, et pro viribus defendemus, contra omnem hominem quem vestræ majestati aut successoribus vestris adversarium cognoscemus vel suspicabimur. Solique vestræ regiæ majestati velut supremo nostro principi quem etiam supremum in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo caput agnoscimus et acceptamus, et successoribus vestris fidelitatem et obedientiam sincere et ex animo præstabimus. Papatum Romanum non esse a Deo in sacris literis ordinatum profitemur; sed humanitus traditum constanter affirmamus, et palam declaramus et declarabimus, et ut alii sic publicent diligenter curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publice inibimus, quod episcopus Romanus aliquam auctoritatem vel jurisdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam posthac restituatur.

ipsumque Romanum episcopum modernum aut ejus in illo episcopatu successorum quemcunque non papam, non summum pontificem, non universalem episcopum, nec sanctissimum dominum, sed solum Romanum episcopum vel pontificem (ut priscis mos erat) scienter publice asseremus. Juraque et statuta hujus regni pro extirpatione et sublatione papatûs et auctoritatis ac jurisdictionis ejusdem Romani episcopi quandocunque edita sive sancita pro viribus scientiâ et ingeniolis nostris ipsi firmiter observabimus ac ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit sic observari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec posthac ad dictum Romanum episcopum appellabimus aut appellanti consentiemus: nec in ejus curiâ pro jure aut justitiâ agemus aut agenti respondebimus, nec ibidem accusatoris vel rei personam sustinebimus. Et si quid dictus episcopus per nuncium vel per literas significaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citissime commode poterimus, aut vestræ regiæ majestati aut vestris a secretis consiliariis, vestrisve successoribus aut eorum a secretis consiliariis significabimus aut significari faciemus. Nosque literas aut nuncium ad eundem Romanum episcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, nisi vestrâ majestate conscià et consentiente aut vestro successore quod dictæ literæ vel nuncius ad illum deferentur; bullas, brevia, aut rescripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab episcopo Romano vel ejus curiâ non impetrabimus, vel ut talia a quovis impetrentur non consulemus. Et si talia pro nobis insciis aut ignorantibus generaliter, vel specialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis renunciabimus et non consentiemus: nec utemur iisdem ullo pacto seu modo. At eas vestræ majestati et successoribus vestris tradi curabimus, omnibusque dicti Romani episcopi concessionibus, privilegiis, largitionibus et indultis cujuscunque naturæ seu qualitatis existant, ac sub quocunque verborum tenore concessæ fuerint, a dictâ sede Romanâ directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani episcopi auctoritate largitis sive consensis quibuscunque publice et expresse in his scriptis renunciavimus, easque irritas et inanes esse volumus. Et soli vestræ regiæ majestati velut supremo nostro principi et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capiti et successoribus vestris nos subditos et subjectos fore profitemur ac nos ac successores nostros subjicimus: et solummodo subditos fore spondemus. Nec eidem Romano episcopo vel ejus

nunciis, oratoribus, collectoribus aut legatis ullam procura-
58 tionem, pensionem, portionem, censum aut quamcunque aliam pecuniarum summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam personam vel personas solvemus nec solvi faciemus. Statutumque de successione vestrâ regiâ in parlimento vestro tento apud Westmonasterium anno regni vestri 28 ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam et effectum ejusdem fideliter observabimus. Præterea in vim pacti profitemur et spondemus ac sub fidelitate vestræ majestati debitâ, et nostrâ coram Deo conscientiâ, promittemus quod contra hanc nostram professionem et sponsionem, nullâ dispensatione, nullâ exceptione, nullâ appellatione aut provocatione; nullove juris vel facti remedio, nos tuebimur: et si quam protestationem in præjudicium hujus nostræ professionis fecimus, eam in præsens et in omne tempus futurum revocamus et eidem renunciamus per præsentes literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus, ac eas sigilli nostri communis appensione et notarii publici subscripti signo et subscriptione communiri fecimus et curavimus.

Dat. et act. in domo nostrâ capitulari 16 die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millessimo quingentissimo tricessimo sexto, anno regni vestræ regiæ majestatis vicessimo octavo. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne Tyson, Olivero Lloyde, et Rogero Hughes, in legibus et decretis respective Baccalaureis, et Ricardo Bedle notario publico testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et requisitis [13].

[13] [The latter of these two documents contained in Number XXVIII, has been corrected from the Third Register of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. The former is not to be found in that Register, or in any other book belonging to the Chapter.]

## Number XXIX. [p. 94.]

*[This is] an order for preaching, and bidding of the beads in all sermons to be made within this realm.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. v. fol. 286.

First, whosoever shall preach in the presence of the king's highness, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray for the whole catholic church of Crist, as well quick as dead, and specially for the catholic church of this realm; and first as we be most bounden for our sovereign lord king Henry the VIIIth, being immediately next unto God, the only and supreme head of this catholic church of England, and for the most gracious lady queen Anne his wife; and for the lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both, our princess, and no further.

*Item*, The preacher in all other places of this realm then in the presence of the king's said highness, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and word for word as is above ordained and limited; adding thereunto in the second part, for all archbishops and bishops, and for all the whole clergy of this realm: and specially for such us shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; and thirdly for all dukes, earls, marquesses, and for all the holy temporalty of this realm; and specially for such as the 59
preacher shall name of devotion: and finally for the souls of all them that be dead, and specially of such as it shall please the preacher to name.

*Item*, It is ordained that every preacher shall preach once in the presence of his greatest audience against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and so after at his liberty: and that no man shall be suffered to defend, or maintain the foresaid usurped power.

Furthermore to keep unity and quietness in this realm, it is ordained that no preachers shall contend openly in pulpit one against another, nor uncharitably deprave one another in open audience. But if any of them be grieved one with another, let them complain to the king's highness; or to the archbishop, or bishop of the diocese where such chance shall happen, and

there to be remedied if there be cause why; and if the complaint be not true, the complainer to be punished.

*Item*, Also to forefend that no preachers for a year shall preach neither with, nor against purgatory, honouring of saints, that priests may have wives; that faith only justifieth; to go on pilgrimages; to forge miracles; considering these things have caused dissension amongst the subjects of this realm already, which thanked be God is now well pacified.

*Item*, That from henceforth all preachers shall purely, sincerely, and justly preach the scripture, and word of Christe, and not mix them with man's institutions, nor make men believe that the force of God's law and man's law is like; nor that any man is able, or hath power to dispense with God's law.

*Item*, It is also ordained that the declaration of the sentence which hath been used in the church four times in the year, shall not from henceforth, neither be published, nor esteemed in any point contrary to the preeminence and jurisdiction royal of our king and his realm, or laws and liberties of the same. And any so doing to be competently punished by the bishop of that diocese where it shall fortune him to be, or inhabit: and this throughout the realm and dominions of our sovereign, shortly the bishops to set order in.

*Item*, It is also ordained that the Collects for the preservation of the king and the queen by name, be from henceforth commonly and usually used and said in every cathedral church, religious house, and parish church, in all their high masses throughout all the realm and dominions of our king and sovereign.

*Item*, It is further ordained that wheresoever the king's just cause of matrimony hath either been detracted, and the incestuous and injust set forth, or in places where as it hath not been dilated, that in all those places till the people be fully satisfied and justly instructe, all manner of preachers whatsoever they be, happening to come into any such part of the realm, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere verity and justness of this later matrimony, as nigh as their learning can serve them, and according to the true determinations of a great number of the most famous and esteemed universities of Christendom; according also to the just resolution and defini-

tion of both the convocations of this realm, concurring also in 60
the same opinion, by the whole assent of parliament, our prince, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of this realm; wherefore now they must declare this matter, neither doubtful nor disputable, but to be a thing of mere verity, and so to be allowed in all men's opinions.

*Item*, It is further ordained that the foresaid preachers shall also declare the false and unjust handling of the bishop of Rome, pretending to have jurisdiction to judge this cause at Rome; which in the first hearing thereof did both declare and confess in word and writing the justness thereof to be upon our sovereign's side, insomuch as by a decretal delivered to the legate here then sitting for the same cause, he did clearly determine that if prince Arthur was our prince's brother, and then of competent age allowed in the law when he married the lady Katheryn, she being so likewise, and that as far as presumptions can prove, carnal copulation ensued between them; that these proved, before the said cardinals and legates (which indeed were accordingly to the laws justly proved) that then the unjust copulation between our sovereign and the said lady Katheryn, was neither lawful, nor longer to be suffered, and so, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foresaid decretal, the nullity, invalidity, and unlawfulness of their pretensed matrimony, which was by his law sufficient judgment of the cause; which decretal by his commandment, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinals; and one which then was here his cubicular, contrary to all justness and equity, wherein he hath done our sovereign most extreme wrong.

Secondly, Contrary to all equity and determinations of general councils, he hath called the cause (which ought to be determined here) to Rome, where our sovereign is neither bound to appear, nor to send proctor: and yet hath he detained wrongfully the cause there these three or four years at the instance of the other party, which sued to have it there, because they knew he durst not displease the emperor, who maketh himself a party in it, as by the sequel it doth evidently appear, and so could our prince get no justice at his hand, but was wrongfully delayed to no small hindrance, both to his succession and this his realm, eminent danger.

Thirdly, Where it is a natural defence that the subject ought, and may defend his natural sovereign, or master, both in word and deed, and ought thereto to be admitted, this foresaid bishop of Rome, contrary to this equity in nature, hath rejected our sovereign's excusator, contrary both to his own laws (which he most setteth by) and also God's law, which he [fol. 288.] ought to prefer. Upon which cause, and other great injuries, our sovereign did appeal to the general council; notwithstanding the which, he hath contrary to all justice proceeded, *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a general council he is damned as an heretic; yet thus injuriously from the beginning hitherto, he hath handled our prince's cause and matter there.

61 Fourthly, The said bishop of Rome since our prince's appeal, hearing of the laws, and acts of parliament which we then went about, and that our king having just ground (the premises considered) would provide according to his bounden duty, both for the surety of his succession and realm, gave out a sentence in manner of excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm, in which when he was spoken to for the iniquity and unjustness thereof by our prince's agents, he and his council could nor did otherwise excuse them (the fact being so contrary to all laws and right) but that the fault was in a new officer late come to the court, which for his lewd doing should grievously be punished, and the process to cease. This they promised our prince's agents, which notwithstanding was set up in Flanders to the great injury of our prince, and for partiality to the other part, as it may well appear by the foresaid sentence.

Fifthly, The said bishop of Rome sought all the ways possible with fair words and promises both by his ambassadors and our sovereign's own, which by any means could be invented, to have abused our prince and sovereign; which when he saw that by none of his crafts our prince would be no longer abused with them, then sued he to the French king, to be a mediator between our sovereign and him: declaring to him and his council that he would gladly do for our sovereign, allowing the justness of his cause; so that they would find the means that our sovereign would not proceed in his acts and laws till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at Marcelles for the finishing thereof, for at Rome he durst not do it for

fear of the emperor. The good French king admonished our prince hereof, offering to him to do all pleasure and kindness that lay in him in this cause, trusting that if the bishop of Rome came once to Marcelles, he should give sentence for our sovereign in his just cause, and therefore prayed our prince to be content with that meeting, in which he would labour for it effectuously, and so he did: to the which our prince answered, that touching the meeting he was content, but touching the forbearing of making laws, he prayed his good brother to hold him excused, for he knew well enough both the craft and delays of the bishop of Rome; by which from thenceforth he would never be abused: and that likewise he feared that he would abuse his good brother, which so indeed after followed; for after he had gotten the marriage of the duke of Orleaunce, he then promised the French king to give judgment for our master, so he would send a proxy, which the said bishop of Rome knew well before, that he neither would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtle imagination, his promise was to the French king, that our prince sending a proctor, should there before his departure have judgment for him in the principal cause; for he openly confessed further, that our master had the right: but because our prince and master would not prejudicate princes' jurisdiction, and uphold his usurped power by sending a proctor, ye may evidently here
[fol. 287.] see that this was only the cause why the judgment of the bishop of Rome was not given in his favour; whereby it may appear that there lacked not any justness in our prince's cause, 62
but that ambition, vainglory, and too much mundanytee, were the lets thereof: wherefore, good people, I exhort you to stick to the truth, and our prince according to our bounden duties, and despise these naughty doings of this bishop of Rome; and charitably pray that he and all others, abusers of Christ's word and works, may have grace to amend[14].

[14] [This document has been accurately printed in the Appendix to Cranmer's Remains and Letters, p. 460.]

## Number XXX. [p. 94.]

*Instructions given by the king's highness, to his trusty and well-beloved servant William Paget, one of the clerks of his signet, whom his highness sendeth at this time unto the king of Pole, the dukes of Pomeray and of Pruce; and to the cities of Dantiske, Stetin, and Connynburgh, for the purposes ensuing. An original.*

HENRY R.

FIRST the said Pagett taking with him the king's highness' letters of credence to the princes aforesaid with the copies of certain other books and writings prepared for his despatch, shall with all diligence, taking his journey from hence, repair unto the said princes, as to his wisdom shall be thought best for the expedition of his journey most convenient. After his arrival there, taking the best opportunity he can for his audience, and delivery of the king's highness' said letters, with his highness' most hearty recommendations: the said Paget shall say that the king's highness considering not only the old love, and perfect friendship, which hath now of long time been contracted, and by mutual offices of amity, established between his highness and the said princes; but also the singular affection, and entire zeal, which his highness by sundry and manifold arguments, hath and doth daily perceive to be in them, to the searching, furthering, defence, and maintenance of the sincere truth, and right understanding of God's word, and the justice of his laws, and the extirpation of such inveterate, old, and corrupt errors, customs, and abusions, whereby Christ's people have been now of long time seduced, and kept more bound, thralled, and captive under the yoke of the bishops of Rome, than ever the Jewish people were under the ceremonies of Moses' law; his highness hath sent now presently the said Paget unto the said princes, and to every one of them severally, as aforesaid, to open and declare on his highness' behalf
63 the great desire which his highness hath, to do all things for his part; whereby not only the friendship may be nourished

Cotton lib. Vitellius, B. xiv. fol. 66.[15]

[15] [Folios 66 and 67 are blank, and the document, which is very much mutilated by fire, begins on fol. 68. It is not in the king's hand. The heading is entirely destroyed.]

and increased, but also the common cause of all Christened men may be reduced to such end as shall be agreeable to the due order of Christ's faith and his precepts, and laws given unto us by his word and Spirit, and expressed in his gospel. And forasmuch as the chief point, and the greatest demonstration of true friendship, is friends to communicate and break friendly each to other, *Et deponere sinum amici,* the whole estate of their causes, and what things be pleasant and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themselves grieved, wronged, or injured; the said Paget shall further say that the king's highness hath given them in commandment to open and declare unto the same severally the whole progress of his great and weighty cause of matrimony, with the intolerable wrongs and injuries done unto his highness in the same by the bishop of Rome, called the pope: and in what terms the same now consisteth. And finally by what ways and means his highness purposeth and intendeth now to defend his said most just and right wise cause and to resist the malicious attemptats of the said bishop of Rome.

And for his entry into the matter, the said Paget shall note and regard two principal and special points; that is to say, the justice of the king's cause, and the order and process which hath been used therein. And as concerning the first point, the said Paget shall shew how the king's highness hath so used himself, as no man may lawfully complain of the same. For as touching the justice of his highness' cause, that is to say, the declaration of his marriage with the princess dowager to be nought, of no moment nor effect; but against the law of God's nature and man, and therefore indispensable by the pope, and in no wise available; the said Paget shall shew, how the king's highness hath done therein as much as becometh a Cristian prince to do for discharge of his conscience: and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and so approved truth therein, as whereunto he ought of necessity to give place, and to allow and receive the same; not as a matter doubtful and disputable, but as a plain and discussed verity, of the true understanding of God's word and law, which all Cristian men must follow and obey, and to all worldly respect prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his highness had used his own particular judgment

and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural subjects, although the same might in his own conscience have sufficed; yet his highness would not have much repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent in the same, until further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, forasmuch as beside the king's own certain understanding, and the agreement of the whole clergy of both provinces of his realm, unto the same; his highness hath also for him the determinations of the most famous universities of Christendom, which be indifferent to pronounce and give sentence in this his cause, and therewith also the evident words of God's law; his highness hath thought himself, in honour and duty to the obliga-
64 tion of God's commandments, obliged necessarily to embrace and receive the same; and there, by the consent of his nobles spiritual and temporal, and with the singular contentation, rejoice and comfort, of all his commons and subjects. And finally, by the judgment and decree of the archbishop of Canterbury, most solemnly and authentically passed in that behalf, hath now, for the discharge of his own conscience, which was before marvellously grieved and offended with the opinion of incest matrimony, and for the avoiding of extreme dangers of his succession, and the ruin of his realm, which was by reason thereof imminent and manifestly apparent to ensue, divorced and separated himself from the yoke and band of that unlawful marriage, which was of long time usurped and continued between his highness and the said princess dowager, and hath espoused and married to his lawful wife, the noble lady, dame Ann marques of Pembroke, whose approved and excellent virtues, that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom, her descent of right noble and high parentage, her education in all good and lawful shows and manners, her aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded and esteemed than the only progeny, be of such approved excellency, as cannot be but most acceptable unto Almighty God, and deserve his high grace and favour to the singular weal and benefit of the king's realm and subjects. Albeit in case any objection shall be made hereunto by the said princes, or any of their council, *de ratione scandali*, by reason that the

king's highness hath not observed in all points the common order and manner of the pope's laws, the said Paget shall, thereunto replying and answering, found themselves first upon the most steadfast grounds of scripture, viz. *Quia justo lex non est posita; sed ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi libertas est: et si Spiritu Dei ducimini, non estis sub lege. Hoc est, Spiritûs Sancti et conscienciæ motum sequentes, sub lege publicâ quæ privatæ cedere debet, nequaquam sumus constituti. In prohibitis enim lege divinâ, parendum est conscienciæ, in aliis vero ecclesiæ: et qui lege privatâ ducitur, nulla racio exigit ut lege publicâ constringatur.* And thereupon the said Paget shall infer, that although the law of every man's private conscience be but a private court, yet it is the highest and supreme court for judgment or justice, condemning or approving of men's acts and deeds in the sight of God; according to the saying of St. Paul to the Romans, *Gentes quæ legem non habent, sibi ipsis sunt lex; qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis; simul attestante ipsorum consciencià, ex cogitacionibus eorum, inter se aut accusantibus aut excusantibus, in eo die quo judicabit Deus occulta hominum.* And therefore the said Paget shall say, that being the king's highness' said cause fully examined, discussed, and resolved in his own conscience; and being also the same court of his conscience enlightened and instructed, first by the Spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes, and afterward established and confirmed by such ways as is before expressed, pronounced and declared, to be dis- 65
charged before God from the contract of his said first matrimony, and be at liberty to exercise and enjoy the benefit of God, for procreation of children, and the lawful use of matrimony, necessary for the relief of man's infirmity; no man ought to inveigh at this his doing, but rather to interpretate the same into the best part, in that, that the king's highness had more regard unto the weal of his soul, than to any ceremonies of men's laws, which themselves decree and ordain: that no man is bound to obey them, or any other man's precept, of what dignity or preeminence soever he be, if the same do *militare contra conscientiam, et Deum offendat: Primum enim quærendum est regnum Dei,* etc. *Et quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ*

*detrimentum paciatur,* etc. He may also further say, that the king's highness knoweth well, that respect is to be had unto the world, and doubteth not but that it is also sufficiently declared and shewed by his acts and proceedings, how much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but sithence that these things, although in their outward visage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concern the peril of soul, no man being *sinceri et candidi pectoris,* can arrecte any blame unto the king's highness, in that he hath after so long travail, labour and study, with intolerable cost and charges, without any fruit sustained in that behalf, be enforced and constrained rather to follow and accomplish the determination of his own conscience, and the law of the same, consonant and agreeable in this case to the law of God, and therefore superior and excelling all laws of man, than to endure in perpetual suit, and continual trouble of body and mind, doing injury to nature, and incomparable damage to his realm; not doing so much as in him is, to provide for the same. And to the intent the said [fol. 71.] Paget may with the more efficacy declare unto the said princes, the ungodly and unlawful demeanors of the pope, in the whole progress of the king's highness' said cause, handling his highness by the space of seven years, and more, in delays and dalliance; and how for friendship and justice, he hath always ministered unto him unkindness and notable injury: by reason whereof, the king's highness hath been thus constrained to do as he hath done: the said Paget shall understand, how that first in the beginning of his highness' great cause, his grace being daily inquieted and molested with the scruple of incest and unlawful matrimony, did send unto the said bishop, as unto him which presumed upon him the title and name of Christ's vicar in earth; and which had the keys of knowledge and power, to discern the very word of God from the word of man; to the intent that he, according to his office and duty, should have immediately dissolved that doubt and scruple, which his highness in conscience had before conceived, and should have restored him incontinently to the quietness and rest of the same. Upon which insinuation, the said bishop of Rome refusing to take any knowledge of the king's said cause of matrimony, but would the king should take a commission, and commissioners to be sent into this his grace's realm, to

whom the said bishop would give sufficient authority, to discern, know, judge and determine the said cause; then pre- 66
tending, that it might in no wise by the order of the laws be intreated at Rome, but only within the king's own realm. And so he delegated his whole power to the cardinal Campegius, and the cardinal of York. Giving also unto them, one other special commission, in form of a decretal: wherein the said bishop of Rome pronounced and gave sentence, that the king's highness' matrimony was utterly nought and unlawful; and that therefore his highness might *convolare ad secundas nuptias;* and the children procreated in the second marriage were lawful. And in this open commission, he gave also unto the said legate full authority to determine this matter, and to give sentence for the king's highness; and yet secretly he gave them instructions, to bring the said commission decretal, and not to proceed by virtue thereof, or of any other commission, unto any final end or sentence, but to suspend and put over the same. And at time of sending of the said commission, he sent also down unto the king's highness, a breve written with his own hand; wherein he did also approve the justice of the king's cause, in like manner as he did in his commission decretal; and promised unto the king's highness, *quam sanctissime sub verbo pontificis*, that he would never afterward advocate the said cause out of the realm of England, but would suffer it to have the due course and order of intreating of the same, within the king's highness' realm; which his sentence and promise[16], yet the said bishop of Rome, contrary to his own conscience and knowledge, what was the very truth and justice in the king's highness' cause; and to the intent he
[fol. 72.] might molest and trouble the same, decreed out sundry citations, whereby he would needs enforce the king's highness to appear at Rome in his own person, to the subversion of him, his dignity, and the privileges of his realm; or else to constrain him in the exhibition of a proxy there: the iniquity of both which things is so evident and notable, *ut nullâ rerum facie defendi queat.* For it is a common principle of the law, *Quoties autem citatus ex privilegio, vel aliquâ aliâ materiâ, in voce expressâ, venire non teneatur, in eo casu nec tenetur aliquam sui copiam facere, neque se, neque procuratorem*

[16] [Probably *notwithstanding* has been omitted here.]

*sistere.* It is also notorious, that the liberties and prerogatives of the king's realm, to the observation whereof he is bounden by his oath at his coronation; and that also the privileges of princes, being public persons, besides other great and urgent causes, do necessarily let the king's person to appear at Rome, and lawfully defendeth and excuseth his absence from thence. And besides all this, that his highness ought not to be cited to Rome; it is enacted by the holy councils of Nece, of Affrique, and of Melevitan. And it is agreeable also to all laws, reason and equity, that kings should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's calling, ne be bounden in a matter of so high weight and consequence as this is, to send out of their realms and dominions, their writings, instruments, and muniments, containing the secrets of their affairs, or to make and
67 trust a proctor in so far distant parts, and in a matter of such gravity and importance, to abide and fulfil that which the said proctor shall agree unto there. And hereunto the said Paget may add, how this matter toucheth the dignity of all Christian princes very highly, to suffer themselves to be so yoked with the said bishop's authority. And that it is time for princes, now that the same bishop maketh this enterprise upon them, to insearch and know the ground and bottom of his and their authorities. For what and the pope would cite and call all Christian princes to appear before him at Rome; that is to say, to cause them to abandon and forsake their own realms, and neglect the cure and office committed unto them by God, and to answer there upon such matters as the pope should for his pleasure object against them? *Esset quidem illud durum; sed tamen si vellet pontifex, hæc posset facere; quâ etenim ratione unum constringere, omnes etiam reges cogere posset:* and so it should be always in the pope's authority and liberty, to remove and depose what kings it pleased him from his crown, and to rule and govern all kingdoms after his own arbitre and pleasure: one other notable iniquity, is also in that the pope by his citation would needs enforce the king's highness to appear at Rome; forasmuch as Rome is by all laws a place unlawful, yea, and thereto most suspect and unsure, not only for the king's highness' own person, being the principal part, but also for the person of his proctor, if he should send any such thither; and specially for the self cause

to be intreated there: now it is a principle in the law, *quod citando ad locum non tutum et procedendo judex facit inique; et quia legibus id prohibentibus, necnon antiquissimis consiliis et pontificum Romanorum diffinicionibus repugnantibus, id facit non solum inique sed etiam nulliter facit.* And yet further, the pope not satisfied with these injuries and wrongs done unto his highness, yea, and to justice itself, in manner as is above rehearsed; but being then, and at such time as the said citations were published, resident at Rome, one doctor Kerne, the king's subject, understanding how his highness was called there to appear before one Cappasuccha dean of the rote, to make answer unto the princess dowager's complaint, and exhibiting reasonable causes, and lawful matters excusatory why his grace should not be bound either to appear at Rome, or to
[fol. 73.] send a proctor thither; which things he did as the king's subject, and as one who by law of nature is bounden to defend his king and sovereign lord; and by all laws admitted to allege that in defence of him that is absent, which in equity ought to preserve him from condemnation; yet this notwithstanding, the said Cappasucha, *idque approbante pontifice*, not regarding nor considering the matters so by the said doctor Kerne alleged, but demanding whether he had any proxy from the king's highness for such purpose or no; the said Cappasucha, for default of such proxy (which was not necessary in this case), rejected the said doctor Kerne from the office of an excusator there, and proceeded in the principal cause: by reason whereof the said doctor Kerne appealed to the pope alleging injury to be done not only to the king's highness, but also unto himself, for that such matter as he (having interest in) did allege was not considered nor regarded, but process made 68
notwithstanding, to which appellation the said Cappasucha[15] an ambiguous and doubtful answer, promising afterward to open his said answer and sentence more plainly, and to give determinate resolution therein, which nevertheless he would not do, albeit he was divers times required and pressed thereunto, but so passed the the[16] time and suddenly returned to process; whereupon the said doctor oftentimes appealed and put up again a supplication to the pope for the admission of

[15] [*gave* appears to have been omitted here.]
[16] [*the* has been accidentally repeated.]

the said appeal, by reason whereof the said matter was reasoned in the signature; where although by no law it would be shewed why the said doctor Kerne ought not to be admitted to allege the said matters excusatory in the defence of the king's highness; yet they gave their voices there as the pope said, that doctor Kerne should not be heard without the king's proxy; whereunto when Dr. Kerne replied, saying that whatsoever they decreed or said, yet there was no law to maintain and bear it: it was answered again by the said bishop, called pope, that he might judge all things after his own conscience. And upon this resolution, without any other decree given, or at least notified and declared, they proceeded in the principal cause, intending by this injury and wrong, to enforce the king's highness to the exhibition of a proxy there, to his high prejudice, and the derogation of the liberties, and prerogatives of his realm, and to the pernicious example of the like to be done unto other princes in time coming. And although at the same time, the king's ambassadors there resident, did shew unto the pope the determination of the universities of Paris and Orleance, with the opinions and sentences of the best and most famous learned men of Italy and Fraunce, determining all with one consent, that these the pope's doings were mere injuries and wrongs, and contrary to his own laws, wherein it is contained, *Quod pontifex Romanus non potest cogere aliquem principem Christianum ut Romam veniat, ut in causâ matrimonii ibidem respondeat, aut in eâdem tanquam procuratorem constituat; et quod subditus cujuscunque principis poterit sine mandato et sine satisdacione ejusdem absenciæ sive non comparacionis allegare et quod debeat ad id admitti: quodque propositis per eundem justis causis absenciæ non poterit contra absentem principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis processus si quis contra eundem factus fuerat, sit jure ipso facto nullus.* Yet he continuing still in the discussing and disputation of the same points: and perceiving well the king's highness' adversaries to be in the wrong part, did still nevertheless reject the said Mr. Kerne from the [fol. 75.] lawful defence of the king's highness, and ceased not to make process against his grace in the principal cause to the express wrong and injury of his highness, and so continuing still in accumulating from time to time, new griefs and injuries against

the justice of the king's cause; and sending out very slanderous breve against the king's highness, with divers other unseeming and ungodly demeanors used by him and his ministers in the discousse and doing of the said injuries. Finally to accomplish his long and indurate malice, he decreed and determined to publish out against the king's highness, the sentence of excommunication, and so the king's highness being advertised of the said determination and purpose, and minding to use his lawful and natural defence of provocation and appellation 69
against the same. After that his highness had so made authentically his said provocation and appellation from the pope to the general council, which shall be now next indicted, and lawfully congregated; and also caused the same to be intimated unto the pope by one of his subjects, the said pope would in no wise admit the same, *et deferre hujusmodi appellacioni*, but pretending for his defence a certain bull made by pope Pius, and that he was superior to all general councils, did most arrogantly and contemptuously reject the king's highness' said appellations, alleging the same to be nought; and they were heretics and traitors to his person, which would appeal from him to any general council, or would attempt to do any thing whereby his authority should be seen to be inferior unto the authority of general councils.

The iniquity of all which things being thus opened unto the said princes, and set forth by the said Paget, with the best persuasions he can devise for that purpose, he shall further shew unto the same, that thence it is now evidently seen that the said bishop of Rome for the defence of his own corrupt affections of glory and ambition, regardeth not what injury he doth to Christian princes, yea, and to abuse and subject so much as in him is, not only the truth, but also the due order both of God's and man's laws, shewing himself therein rather to be the child of wrath and discord, than the imitator and follower of Christ; it shall now appertain unto the office of every good Christian prince on the other side, to have more special regard to the preservation of their own estate and dignity, and the maintenance of God's laws, than they have had in times past. And to study now by all means rather to confound and destroy these presumptions of men, which forge themselves such a throne and power as soundeth greatly to the blasphemy

of Christ and his very spouse the church, than to suffer the same any further to increase.

And forasmuch as the king's highness not only for want of justice in his said cause at the pope's hand, but also for the defence of those extreme injuries, which the said pope hath enforced upon him and the justice of his cause, and for the maintenance of his estate royal, with the laws and privileges of his realm, conform and agreeable to the law of God, is now utterly determined, having God and his word upon his party, to resist and withstand the said bishop's malicious attempts and [fol. 75.] reduce the said pope's power, *ad justos et legitimos mediocritatis suæ modos*, so as within this his highness' realm, he shall not be suffered to exercise any other power and jurisdiction, than is granted unto him by express scripture. The said Paget shall shew unto the said princes; that the king's highness trusting not a little to their great virtue, wisdom, and old amity hath commanded him not only to open and declare unto the said princes the whole circumstances of all the premises, and of what mind and disposition the king's highness is now toward the said pope, and the court of Rome: but also to exhort and instantly to require the same on the king's highness' behalf, that it shall please them to adhere and stick with the king's highness in his said righteous cause to the repair of the said injuries at such time as the same shall be intreated in the general council. And in the mean season to give unto his highness their assistance and best advice how he shall proceed to the accomplishment of his desired purposes, according to such articles, as be written in a certain schedule and be delivered unto the said Paget, and signed with the king's highness' hand, which he shall also exhibit and shew unto the said princes; and to every of them, as by his wisdom he shall perceive may be most beneficial unto the king's highness' affairs: and to require also the said princes and potentates, that in case there be any articles, causes, or matters in those parties touching any abuses, evil customs, or opinions, which for the common-wealth of Christendom, and the maintenance of God's word the said princes and potentates, or any of them, shall think necessary and requisite to be reformed and redressed, the said Paget shall say that the king's mind and full determination is, his highness being advertised of the specialties of

the same, either by the letters of the said Paget, or otherwise by letters of the same princes; or by the messengers, servants, or orators of them, or any of them, will not fail, but like as the same his highness at this time declareth his griefs, and desireth their assistance in this his suit and righteous causes and quarrels, even so likewise his highness will not only right thankfully and kindly admit the same causes to his most favourable audience; but also will, with all effect and sincerity to him possible, endeavour himself both to the extirpation and putting away of the said abuses and evil customs sounding against God's word and laws, and also further do that thing that may lie in him for reformation thereof, and establishing the good intents and purposes of the said princes, as most specially may be for the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and wealth of Christendom, like as unto the office of a very Christian prince, and the perfectness of amity and friendship contracted between his highness and the said princes shall appertain. Finally, forasmuch as it is doubtful of what mind, intention, and purpose, the said princes be, or at least some of them, that is to wit, whether they be so dedicated to the pope's devotion, that there is no likelihood of any good success touching the king's purposes to be done or gotten at their hand, the said Paget shall first and before the delivering of the king's said letters to any of the said princes, and declaration of this his charge by all dexterity, ways and means to them possible inscarch, inquire, and know the disposition and inclination of the said princes, and of every of them severally, and so thereafter according to their wisdoms and discretions to deliver or retain the king's said letters, with declarations or without declarations of their said charge, as to their wisdoms shall be thought most necessary and requisite for achieving of the king's highness' purpose in this behalf.

HENRY R.[17]

[17] [The signature is not in the king's hand.]

71 ## Number XXXI.[18] [p. 97.]

*Propositions to the king's council; marked in some places on the margin in king Henry's own hand.* 1533.
*An original.*

1. First, To send for all the bishops of this realm, and specially for such as be nearest unto the court; and to examine them apart, whether they, by the law of God, can prove and justify, that he that now is called the pope of Rome is above the general council, or the general council above him? Or whether he hath given unto him by the law of God, any more authority within the realm, than any other foreign bishop? Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 319. [al. 313.]
2. *Item*, To devise, with all the bishops of this realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the king's people, that the said bishop of Rome, called the pope, is not in authority above the general council, but the general council is above him, and all bishops. And that he hath not, by God's law, any more jurisdiction within this realm, than an other foreign bishop (being of any other realm) hath. And that such authority as he before this hath usurped within this realm, is both against God's law, and also against the general councils. Which usurpation of authority, only hath grown to him, by the sufferance of princes of this realm, and by none authority from God.
3. *Item*, Therefore that order be taken, for such as shall preach at Paules Cross from henceforth, shall continually from Sunday to Sunday preach there, and also teach and declare to the people, that he that now calleth himself pope, ne any of his predecessors, is, and were but only the bishops of Rome; and hath no more authority and jurisdiction, by God's law, within this realm, than any other foreign bishop hath; which is nothing at all. And that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore, hath been only by usurpation, and sufferance of princes of this realm. And that the bishop of London may be bound to suffer

[18] [This document has been printed in the State Papers, vol. i. p. 411. The marginal notes are not in the king's hand, as stated by the author, but in Cromwell's. It appears also in Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. i. p. 151.]

none other to preach at Paules Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach, and set forth the same.

4. *Item*, That all the bishops within this realm be bound and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preached throughout all their dioceses.

5. *Item*, That a special practise be made, and a straight commandment given to all provincials, ministers, and rulers of all the four orders of friars within this realm; commanding them to cause the same to be preached by all the preachers of their religions, in and through the whole realm.

6. *Item*, To practise with all friars Observants of this realm, and to command them to preach in like wise; or else that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no place 72
of the realm.

7. *Item*, That every abbot, prior, and other heads of religious houses within this realm, shall in like manner teach their convents and brethren, to teach and declare the same.

8. *Item*, That every bishop shall make special commandments to every parson, vicar and curate, within his diocese, to preach and declare to their parochians in like wise.

9. *Item*, Proclamations to be made throughout the realm, containing the whole act of appeals: and that the same act may be impressed, transumed, and set up on every church door in Englonde, to the intent, that no parson, vicar, curate, nor any other of the king's subjects, shall make themselves ignorant thereof.

10. *Item*, The king's provocation and appellations, made from the bishop of Rome unto the general council, may also be transumed, impressed, published and set up on every
[fol. 321.] church door in England; to the intent, that if any censures should be fulminate against the king or his realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the censures be of none effect; considering that the king hath already, and also before any censures promulged, both provoked and appealed.

11. *Item*, Like transumpts to be made, and sent into all other realms and dominions, and specially into Flaunders, concerning the king's said provocations and appellations: to the intent the falsehood, iniquity, malice and injustice of the bishop of Rome, may thereby appear to all the world:

and also to the intent that all the world may know, that the king's highness standing under those appeals, no censures can prevail, ne take any effect against him and his realm.

12. *Item,* [19]A letter to be conceived from all the nobles, as well spiritual as temporal, of this realm, unto the bishop of Rome, declaring the wrongs, injuries and usurpations, used against the king's highness and this realm.

13. *Item,* [20]To send explorators and spies into Scotlande; and to see and perceive their practices, and what they intend there; and whether they will confeder themselves with any other outward princes.

14. *Item,* [21]Certain discreet and grave persons, to be appointed to repair into the parts of Germany, to practise and conclude some league or amity with the princes and potentates of Germany; that is to say, the king of Pole, king John of Hungary, the duke of Saxony, the dukes of Bavyere, duke Frederyke, the landgrave Van Hesse, the bishop of Magons, the bishop of Treuers, the bishop of Coleyn, and other the potentates of Germany; and also to ensearch, of what inclination the said princes and [fol. 322.] potentates be of, towards the king and this realm.

15. *Item,* [22]Like practice to be made and practised with the cities of Lubeke, Danske, Hamburgh, Brouneswyke, and all other the stedds of the Haunse Tutonyck; and to ensearch of what inclination they be towards the king and this realm.

16. *Item,* Like practice to be made and practised with the cities of Norimbergh and Aughsbrough.

17. *Item,* [23]To remember the merchants adventurers haunting the dominions of Brabande, and to speak with them.

18. *Item,* [24]To set order and establishment of the princess dowager's house with all celerity, and also of my lady Marye's house.

19. *Item,* [25]A full conclusion and determination, to be taken for my lady princess' house.

[19] Not yet done, ne can well be done before the parliament.

[20] For to send letters to my lord Dacre, my lord of Northumberland, and sir Thomas Clyfford.

[21] In the king's arbitrement.

[22] To know when, of the king.

[23] This is already done.

[24] The order is taken.

[25] The order is taken.

## Number XXXII. [p. 98.]

*By the king.*

*A letter against the pope's authority, and his followers, setting forth their treasons. An original.*

HENRY R.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 214.

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well.

And whereas heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just and virtuous foundations, grounded upon the laws of Almighty God and holy scripture, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergy, as by the nobles and commons temporal of this our realm, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by authority of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome his authority and jurisdiction, of long time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished and secluded; but also the same our nobles and commons, both of the clergy and temporalty, by another several act and upon like foundation for the public weal of this our realm, have united, knit and annexed to us and the crown imperial of this our realm, the title, dignity and style of supreme head in earth, immediately under God, of the church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which things also the said bishops and clergy, particularly in their convocations, have wholly and entirely consented, recognised, ratified, confirmed and approved authentically in writing, both by their special oaths, profession and writing, under their signs and seals. So utterly renouncing all other oaths, obedience and jurisdiction, either of the said bishop of Rome, or of any other potentate, we let you wit, that perpending and considering the charge and commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietness, rest and tranquillity, that hereby may 74
ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences, and otherwise to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergy of this our realm, should sincerely, truly and faithfully set forth, declare and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God, and without all manner

colour, dissimulation, hypocrisy, manifest, publish and declare, the great and innumerable enormities and abuses, which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christian princes: have not only addressed our letters general to all and every the same bishops, straightly charging and commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach and preach unto the people, the true, mere and sincere word of God: and how the said title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head, appertaineth unto us, our crown and dignity royal. And to give like warning, monition and charge, to all abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, schoolmasters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their diocese, to do the semblable, in their churches, every Sunday and solemn feast, and also in their schools; and to cause all manner prayers, orisons, rubrics and canons in mass books, and all other books used in churches, wherein the said bishop is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicate, and razed out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name and memory for evermore (except to his contumely and reproach), may be extinct, suppressed and obscured: but also to the justices of our peace, that they, in every place within the precinct of their commissions, do make and cause to be made diligent search wayte and espial, whether the said bishops and clergy do truly and sincerely, without any manner cloak or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them committed in this behalf: and to certify us and our council, of such of them that should omit or leave undone any part of the premises, or else in the execution thereof, should coldly or feignedly use any manner sinister addition, interpretation or cloak, as more plainly is expressed in our said letters.

We considering the great good and furtherance, that ye may do in these matters in the parts about you, and specially at your being at sises and sessions; in the declaration of the premises, have thought it good, necessary and expedient, to write these our letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singular zeal and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful and loving heart towards us,

as ye will not only, with all your wisdoms, diligences and labours, accomplish all such things, as might be to the preferment and setting forwards of God's word, and the amplification, defence and maintenance of our said interest, right, title, style, jurisdiction and authority, appertaining unto us, our
[fol. 215.] dignity, prerogative and crown imperial of this our realm, will and desire you, and nevertheless straightly charge and command you, that laying apart all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations; and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right and dignity of your sovereign lord; thus sounding to the inestimable unity 75
and commodity both of yourselves and all other our loving and faithful subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precinct of your commission and authority, whether the said bishops and clergy do truly and sincerely as before, preach, teach, and declare to the people the premises, according to their duties, but also at your said setting in sises and sessions ye do persuade, shew, and declare unto the same people the very tenor, effect, and purpose of the premises in such wise, as the said bishops, and clergy, may the better, not only do thereby, and execute their said duties, but that also the parents, and rulers of families, may declare, teach, and inform their children and servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction for ever, shewing and declaring also to the people at your said sessions the treasons traitorously committed against us and our laws, by the late bishop of Rochestre, and sir Thomas More, knight, who thereby, and by divers secret practices of their malicious minds against us intended, to seminate, engender, and breed amongst our people and subjects, a most mischievous and seditious opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others who lately have condignly suffered execution according to their demerits, and in such wise dilating the same with persuasions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed, established, and satisfied in the truth, and consequently, that all our faithful and true subjects may thereby detest and abhor in their hearts and deeds, the most recreant and traitorous abuses, and behaviours of the said malicious malefactors as they be most worthy, and finding any default, negligence, or dissimulation in

any manner of person, or persons, not doing his duty in this party, ye immediately do advertise us and our council of the default, manner, and facion of the same, letting you wit, that considering the great moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as whereupon dependeth the unity, rest, and quietness of this our realm, if ye should contrary to your duties, and our expectations and trust, neglect, be slack, or omit to do diligently your duties in the true performance and execution of our mind, pleasure, and commandment as before, or would halt or stumble at any part, or specialty of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so punish and correct your default and negligence therein, as it shall be an example to all other, how contrary to their allegiance, oaths and duties, they do frustrate, deceive, and disobey the just and lawful commandment of their sovereign lord, in such things as by the true hearty and faithful execution whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of their sovereign lord, but also import and bring an inestimable unity, concord, and tranquillity of the public, and common state of this realm: whereunto both by the laws of God and nature and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden. And therefore fail ye not most effectually, earnestly, and entirely to see the premises done and executed upon pain of your allegiance; and as ye
76 will avoid our high indignation and displeasure, at your uttermost perils.

Given under our signet at our manor besides Westminster, the 25th day of June[26].

[26] [This and the following document are printed in Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. Appendix, Number 53 and 54, pp. 139–142, and likewise in the preface to Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments, pp. lxxx–lxxxiv, where there is also a second letter from the king on the same subject, dated from Hampton-Court in the December following. The proclamation to the same effect, dated from Westminster, June 9th, appears in Fox, vol. ii. p. 278, from which it was printed in Wilkins' Conc. vol. iii. p. 772, apparently taken from Bonner's Register, fol. 42.]

## Number XXXIII. [p. 99.]

*By the king.*

*A proclamation against seditious preachers.*

HENRY R.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. [fol. 213.]

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge that sundry persons as well religious, as secular priests and curates in their parishes, and divers places within this our realm, do daily as much as in them is, set forth and extol the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called pope, sowing their seditious, pestilent, and false doctrine, praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a god, to the great deceit, alluding and seducing of our subjects, bringing them into errors, sedition, and evil opinions, more preferring the power, laws, and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, than the most holy laws and precepts of Almighty God.

We therefore minding not only to provide for an unity and quietness, to be had and continued amongst our said subjects, but also greatly coveting and desiring them to be brought to a profession and knowledge of the mere verity and truth, and no longer to be seduced, nor blinded with any such superstitious and false doctrine of any earthly usurper of God's laws, will therefore and command you, that where and whensoever ye shall find, apperceive, know, or hear tell of any such seditious persons, that in such wise do spread, teach, and preach, or otherwise set forth any such opinions and pernicious doctrine, to the exaltation of the power of the bishop of Rome; bringing thereby our subjects into error, grudge, and murmuration, that ye indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until upon your advertisement thereof unto us, or our council, ye shall know our further pleasure in that behalf.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Grenewich the 16th day of April.

[*To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor the earl of Sussex.*]

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## Number XXXIV. [p. 99.]

*A letter of the archbishop of York's, setting forth his zeal in the king's service, and against the pope's authority.*

PLEASE it your highness to understand, that the 8th day of June, I received by the hands of sir Francise Bygott, your most honourable letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your highness is informed, and so doth take it, that whereas the same your highness, as well by convocations of your clergies of both provinces, as by your high court of parliament is declared the *supreme head* in earth of the church of England, and also by the clergy of the said convocations, it is avowed, that the bishop of Rome by God's law hath no more jurisdiction within this realm than any other foreign bishop; and therefore order taken by your high court of parliament, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same assembled, as well for the uniting and knitting of your said style and title of *supreme head* to your imperial crown, as for the abolishment of the said bishop of Rome's authority and jurisdiction, yet I nevertheless, nodre remembring my consent given to the same, by my subscription and profession, signed with my hand, and sealed with my seal, have not done my due endeavourment to teach the same, ne cause to be taught within my diocese and province; so that the foresaid truths might be imprinted and rooted in the hearts of the ignorant people your highness' subjects, wherefore your highness commandeth me, not only to preach the foresaid things in my person, and also to command other to preach the same, but also to give commandment in your highness' name, to all manner of prelates and ecclesiastical persons within my diocese and province, to declare and cause to be declared every Sunday; and therewith to open to the people your highness' just and reasonable cause, moving the same to refuse and to exclude out of your realm all the jurisdiction and authority of the said bishop of Rome; and furthermore your highness commandeth me to cause all Collects and places of the mass-book, where any mention is made is made[27] of the said bishop of Rome

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 236.

[27] [These words are repeated in the MS.]

to be razed out, and nodre the said Collects, nor any other thing, whereby the said bishop's authority is magnified, to be any more in use, but to be utterly suppressed with silence; and besidès this, your highness in the same your most honourable letters, giveth order for schoolmasters, how they shall instil and inculke the foresaid truths into the hearts of their disciples, to the intent, that so being implanted and rooted in tender age, they may so always continue. In most humble manner prostrate, I beseech your highness to take in good part my answer. I trust your highness is not unremembred, that about this time the last year, anon after my return from your highness, my lord of Canterburie by your commandment sent to me a book, 78
wherein was an order for preaching, and in the same, form devised, as well for preachers as curates, for the beads; in which form, your highness' style and title of *supreme head* is mentioned, and further in the same book, your highness hath given commandment, that every preacher should before Easter last past once in solemn audience declare the usurped jurisdiction within this realm of the bishop of Rome, and your highness' just causes to decline from the same; and also to open and declare such things, as might avow and justify your highness' refusal of marriage with the princess dowager, and lawful contract of new with your most dear wife queen Ann, and in the same an order also given for the suppression of the general sentence; after the receipt of which book, the Sunday next following, which was then the second Sunday after Trinity Sunday, I went from Cawood to York, and there in my own person, declared as well your highness' cause touching the matrimony, as also your refusal of the pope's jurisdiction, fur-
[fol. 237.] nishing both so at length, that I trust that nothing that needed to be opened and spoken, was left unspoken: and to the intent, that I would have the thing the more spread abroad, I forthwith upon the receipt of the foresaid book, sent to York to publish there, that I would be there Sunday next following, and caused the churches to make an end of their service, in such time, as every man might have opportunity to be at the sermon, and specially required the mayor and his brethren, and your faithful chaplain and servants, Mr. Magnus, and sir George Lawson to be there, and there and then afore a great multitude, and as it is to be supposed in that multitude were a

great number of sundry parts of the country, which never lack in that city, it may be thought there was the greater number, because it was noised that I should preach, taking occasion of these words in the gospel of that day, *Uxorem duxi, ideo non possum venire*, I so uttered, explained, declared, and opened both the foresaid matters, and the injuries done to your highness by the bishop of Rome Clement, that your said chaplain and servants, Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson, thought that the audience was satisfied. These two be my witness herein, with a very great multitude besides them, that I nothing feign herein. As for your highness' title of *supreme head*, I touched not then, forsomuch, as no order was given then, but only to make mention thereof in the prayers; and it is well known to all that have heard me preach ever since my first coming into my diocese, that for more speed of time, and more utterance of matter, I never have made prayers in any sermon, but proceeded forward without stop, nor have any thing, or not much, rehearsed in Latin, but English it in course, for the same purpose. Also upon the receipt of the same book, forthwith I commanded my officers and other that could write, to make out a great number of the said books, and cause to be delivered to every preacher within my diocese a whole book, charging them, to do according to the instruction thereof, and generally to every curate a book comprising as much as touched their charge, and if he were a preacher, he had the whole.
79 And I assure your highness, I have not yet heard, but that every one of the said curates followeth their books in every point; and specially pray for your highness as chief head of the church, and all other things observe in the same; and yet I have done my diligence to hearken and know if it were otherwise. And I do not know but all the preachers have done their duty; and to the great number of them I spake myself, and delivered them books, and charged them. And farther, I charged all curates and other, that they should suffer no man to preach in their churches; to the intent, that all that would preach, should be constrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the foresaid instructions. And never yet any had license of me to preach, but he had such a book delivered him. To every house of friars, and other religious houses, where any preachers were, I gave books; and likewise

to all that I knew, or could learn to be within my diocese, with charge that they should follow the book. When any religious men came to me for counsel, I told them what I had done, and gave them counsel to do the same. Of divers sorts have come to me, both Observants and Cartusians and other. Upon Good Friday last past, I charged the treasurer of Yorke, that he should leave out the Collect *pro Papâ*. Likewise I charged the deacon that sung the hymn *Exultet Angelica*, in the hallowing of the paschal, that he should leave out mention therein
[fol. 238.] made *de Papâ*. The truth of all these things may be examined and known, if it shall so please your highness: by which it shall appear, I trust, that I am not in such blame as your highness imputeth to me; informed by them, peradventure, that be not my friends. Your highness somewhat knoweth me. I have been always open and plain, and hitherto I dare avow I never deceived you, nor hereafter shall in any thing that I take upon me, as my learning and conscience will serve. And now, after the receipt of your most honourable letters by sir Francise Bygott, I forthwith caused letters to be made to my lord of Duresme and Carlisle, and to all archdeacons, giving to them (on your highness' behalf) straight commandment, to follow truly and sincerely the effect of such commandments, as your highness hath given me in your most honourable letters; and have charged all archdeacons to see, that all things, according to the tenor of your said most honourable commandment, be done without delay; and have charged them to deliver books to all curates and other, of the old instructions, putting to them all that is now increased in these your highness' last most honourable letters: so that I trust, all things shall be done according to your highness' commandment, with all speed, efficacy and diligence, whereunto I shall hearken. And for my part, I have (on Sunday last past, which next followed the receipt of your highness' most honourable letters) declared all things comprised in the same; so that, I trust, the audience was satisfied. I caused the city to be warned afore, and divers of the country were present. And your faithful chaplain and servants, Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson, I specially required to be there; as indeed they were, and can report what they think thereof. There 80
were also present the abbot of Saincte Maries of Yorke the

treasurer of Yorke, sir Francise Bygott; these were there, your servants and chaplains, and many other. I trust your highness shall never find in me, but that I promise, I shall fulfil, and all things do with good haste, that I may do, at your highness' commandment, God not offended. And most humbly prostrate, I beseech your highness to be so gracious, good lord, not to believe any complaints of me, afore you have heard my answer. The time is now such, that some men think they do high sacrifice, when they may bring into your highness' displeasure such a poor priest as I am: but I trust in our Lord, that your highness doth not so take it, and that our Lord will continue your highness' gracious mind towards your poor priests and chaplains; and that he shall send to them, that causeless provoke the grievous displeasure of your highness against your said priests, better grace hereafter.

For which, and for the continual keeping of your highness in his governance, I shall, as I am most bound, continually pray.

From Bishops-Thorpe, the 14th of June 1535.

Your highness' most humble
Priest and beadman,
Edouarde Ebor.[28]

[28] [For a previous letter from Lee to Cromwell, transmitting his profession of obedience to the king, see State Papers, vol. i. p. 428. This letter is dated February 27. Another letter, dated January 13, in the following year, in vindication of himself in the matter of the king's supremacy, appears in the same volume, p. 453.]

## Number XXXV. [p. 101.]

*A letter*[29] *of Cromwell's to the king's ambassador in France, full of expostulations.*

SIR, *August the 23rd.*

Ex MSS. Rymeri. [Hen. VIII. vol. v. art. 38. p. 133.]

AFTER my most hearty recommendations, these shall be to advertise you, that the 17th day of this month[30] I received from you a packet of letters, which indelayedly I delivered unto the king's highness, and conferred with his grace; the effect both of your letters, and all others within the said packet, being directed as well to his highness as to me. And after his highness had with me perused the whole contents throughly of your said letters, perceiving not only the likelihood of the not repair in[31] France of Philip Melanchton, but also your communications had with the Frensh king[32], upon your demand made of the king's highness'[33] pensions, with also your discreet answers and replications made in that behalf; for the which his majesty giveth unto you his hearty and[34] condign thanks: ye shall understand, that his highness commanded me to make you answer in this wise following. 81

First, as touching the king's money, his highness doubteth not, but seeing both the French king, and also the great master, have promised you it shall be depeched; ye will, as the case shall require, not cease to call upon them till it be

[29] [This letter is said by the author, in the text, to be from the king. It is really, as here called, a letter of Cromwell's to Sir John Wallop, the king's ambassador in France. It was afterwards printed by Strype, in the Appendix to Mem. Eccles. vol. i. Number LXVIII. p. 166, from a manuscript of Sir W. Hickes', but which the editor has been unable to find in the Lansdowne Collection. The variations between the two copies are noticed at the foot of the page.]

[30] [There are two letters, one from Heynes and Mont to the king in English, the other in Latin from Mont to Cromwell, dated from Rheims August 8, printed in State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 622–5, but the allusions in this letter shew that there were either other letters in the same packet, or that the ambassador wrote again a little later, with further information as to the views of the French king.]

[31] [*into*] [32] [*king's highness*]
[33] [*majesty's*] [34] [*hearty and* om.]

depeched. And farther considering that the said French king, upon your said demand of the said pensions, so suddenly fell into communication with you, as well of his friendship and humanity shewed to the king's highness; alleging, that he at all times hath answered for the king's highness, specially being last at Marcells with pope Clement, with other things, as in your said letters appeareth; as also concerning the executions lately done here within this realm, the king's highness not a little marvelleth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of yourself ye take some occasion at convenient time and opportunity to renovate the said communication, both with the Frensh king, or at the least with the great master; saying unto them, that where the said Frensh king allegeth, that he hath at all times answered for the king's highness in his cause; and[35] especially to the said pope Clement at Marcells; affirming his proceedings to be just and upright concerning the matrimony, as ye do write, in that, albeit the king's highness' proceedings, in all his affairs within this realm, being of such equity and justness of themself as they be, needeth not any defence or assistance against pope Clement, or any other foreign power, having God's word[36] and laws only sufficient to defend him; yet in that, that the said Frensh king hath, as he sayeth, answered at all times on the king's part, he hath done nothing but the part of a brother, in justifying and verifying the truth; and so continuing, shall do as appertaineth to a prince of honour, which the king's highness doubteth not he hath and will do only in respect to the verity and truth, beside the amity betwixt them both justly requiring the same.

And concerning the executions done within this realm, ye shall say to the said Frensh king, that the same were not so marvellous extreme, as he allegeth. For, touching Mr. More, and the bishop of Rochester, with such others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies and practices secretly practised, as well within the realm as without, to move and stir dissension, and to sow sedition within the realm, intending thereby not only the destruction of the king, but also the whole subversion of his highness' realm, being explained and declared, and so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoid nor deny it: and they thereof openly detected, and lawfully con-

[35] [*and* om.] [36] [*words*]

victed, adjudged and condemned of high treason, by the due order of the laws of this realm, it shall and may well appear to all the world, that they having such malice rooted in their hearts against their prince and sovereign, and the total destruction of the commonweal of this realm, were well worthy,
[p. 135.] if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death and execution than any of them did suffer.

And touching such words as the said Frensh king spake unto 82
you, concerning how Mr. More died, and what he said to his daughter going to his judgment, and also what exhortations he should give unto the king's subjects, to be true and obedient to his grace; assuring you that there *was no such thing*, whereof the great master promised you a double at length: in that the king's pleasure is, that ye shall not only procure the said double, and send it hither, but also say unto the said Frensh king, that the king's highness cannot otherwise take it but very unkindly, that the said Frensh king, or any of his council, at whose hands he hath so much merited, and to whom he hath ministered so many great benefits, pleasures and commodities, should so lightly give ear, faith and credence to any such vain bruits and flying tales; not having first knowledge or advertisement from the king's highness here, and his council, of the verity and truth; affirming it to be the office of a friend, hearing any such tales of so noble a prince, rather to have compressed the bruiters thereof to silence, or at the least not permitted to[37] have divulged the same, until[38] such time as the king's majesty being so dear a friend had been advertised thereof, and the truth known, before he should so lightly believe or allege any such report. Which ingrate and unkind demeanour of the said Frensh king, used in this behalf, argueth plainly not to remain in his breast such integrity of heart, and sincere amity towards the king's highness, and his proceedings, as his highness always heretofore hath expected and looked for: which thing ye may propone and allege unto the said Frensh king, and the great master, or to one of them, with such modesty and soberness, as ye think they may perceive that the king's highness hath good and just cause in this part, somewhat to take their light credence unkindly.

[fol. 136.] And whereas the said Frensh king sayeth, that touching

[37] [*them to*] [38] [*unto*]

such laws as the king's highness hath made, he will not meddle withal; alleging it not to be meet, that one prince should desire another to change his laws; saying, that his be too old to be changed; to that ye shall say, That such laws as the king's highness hath made here, be not made without substantial grounds, by great and mature advice, counsel and deliberation, of the whole policy of this realm, and are indeed no new laws, but of great antiquity, and many years passed, were made and executed within this realm, as now they be renovate and renewed only[39] in respect to[40] the common weal of the same. And it is not a little to his highness' marvel, that the said Frensh king ever would counsel or advise him, if in case hereafter any such like offenders should happen to be in this realm, that he should rather banish them, than in such wise execute them. And specially considering, that the said Frensh king himself, in communing with you at that time, not only confessed the extreme executions and great bruyllie, of late done in his realm, but also that he now intendeth to withdraw the same, and to revoke and call home again such as be out of his realm: the king's highness, therefore, the more strangely taketh his said advice and counsel, supposing it to be neither
83 the office of a friend, nor of a brother, that he would determine himself to call home into his realm again his subjects being out of the same, for speaking against the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and counsel the king's highness to banish his traitors into strange parts, where they might have good occasion, time, place, and opportunity to work their feats of treason and conspiracy the better against the king's highness and this his realm: in which part ye shall somewhat engreve the matter after such sort as it may well appear to the said Frensh king, that not only the king's highness might take those his counsels and communications, both strangely and unkindly, thinking the same not to proceed of mere amity and friendship, but also using such policy and austerity in proponing the same with the said Frensh king, and the great master, taking such time and opportunity as may best serve for the same, as they may well perceive the king's highness' proceedings here within this realm, both concerning the said executions, and all other things to be

[39] [*only* om.] [40] [*of*]

only grounded upon justice and the equity of his laws, which be no new laws, but ancient laws, made and established of many years passed within this realm, and now renovate and renewed as is aforesaid, for the better order, weal, and surety of the same.

And ye may farther say, that if the Frensh king and his council well consider, as they ought to do, that it were much better to advance the punishment of traitors and rebels, for their offences, than to punish such as do speak against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, who daily goeth about to suppress and subdue kings and princes, and their authority given to them by God's word.

All which matters the king's pleasure is, that ye shall take time and occasion, as yetalking again with the Frensh king, or the great master may declare your mind, as before is prescribed unto you: adding thereunto such matter, with such reasons, after your accustomed dexterity and discretion, as ye shall think most expedient, and to serve best for the king's purpose, defence of his proceedings, and the proof of the Frensh king's ingratitude, shewed in this behalf; not doubting in your wisdom, good industry, and discreet circumspection, for the ordering and well handling of the same accordingly.

And touching Melanchton, considering there is no likelihood of his repair into Fraunce, as I have well perceived by your letters; the king's highness therefore hath appointed Cristofer Mount, indelayedly to take his journey where Melanchton is:
[fol. 138.] and if he can, to prevent monsieur de Langie in such wise, as the said Melanchton his repair into France, may be stayed and diverted into England, not doubting but the same shall take effect accordingly.

And as to Mr. Heynes, the king's pleasure is, that he shall go to Paris, there to learn and decipher the opinions of the learned men, and their inclinations and affections as well towards the king's highness' proceedings, as to the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authority, after such sort as the king's said highness hath now written to[41] him, by his gracious[42] letters addressed both to[43] him, and the said Cristofer Mount; directing them what they shall do in all things committed to their charge at this time, as I doubt not, they[44] will put there- 84

[41] [*unto*] [42] [*grace's*] [43] [*unto*] [44] [*but they*]

unto[45] their devoirs for the accomplishment of the king's pleasure as appertaineth.

And thus making an end, praying you to use your discretion in the proponing of the premises to the French king, and the great master, or the one or both of them, using the same as a medicine, and after such sort, that as near as ye can, it be not much displeasantly taken, advertising the king's highness from time to time of the successes thereof; and of all other occurrents as the case shall require; I shall for this time bid you most heartily farewell, &c.

[Requiring you farther as ye shall have convenient time, to procure answer of the emperor's ambassador resident with you, whereof the king's highness would be advertised with as convenient speed as ye can.]

Thornebery the 23th day of August.

[Your assured friend,

Thomas Crumwell.]

[*To my right loving friend Sir John Wallop, knight, the king's ambassador in the court of Fraunce.*]

[45] [*thereto*]

## Number XXXVI. [p. 101.]

*The engagement sent over by the French king, to king Henry, promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his first, and in justifying his second marriage.*

Paper-Office. FRANCISCUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX Christianissimus, omnibus et singulis præsentes lecturis et audituris, salutem.

Non honoris solum nostri, verum etiam officii et pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, sed etiam fidem, autoritatem, gratiam, et studium omne nostrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe charissimi, et de nobis optimè meriti injuriâ, justicia etiam et veritas negligantur.

Hinc est quod cum serenissimus et invictissimus princeps Henricus Dei gratiâ Angliæ rex, fidei defensor, dominus Hiberniæ, et secundum Deum, supremum in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ caput, charissimus frater ac consanguineus et perpetuus confœderatus noster, vigore cujusdam dispensacionis a bonæ memoriæ Julio papâ, illius nominis secundo, cum nobili muliere Catherinâ, præclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi et Elisabeth Hispaniarum regum, filiâ, ac præclaræ memoriæ illustris principis Arthuri, dicti serenissimi regis Henrici fratris naturalis et legitimi relictâ, matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, et ex eâdem in eodem prætenso matrimonio, filiam adhuc superstitem Mariam nomine susceperit; cumque idem serenissimus rex dicti incesti matrimonii conscientiâ motus, à præfatâ dominâ Catherinâ diverterit, ac justissimis gravissimisque de causis, nobis etiam satis cognitis et perspectis, ad id inductus, matrimonium cum clarissimâ et nobilissimâ dominâ Annâ nunc Angliæ reginâ, rite, legitime et realiter inierit, contraxerit, et in facie ecclesiæ solemnizaverit, et præclarissimam dominam Elisabeth Angliæ principem ex eâdem et in eodem matrimonio procreaverit, et susceperit; cumque præterea super illius dispensationis et matrimonii viribus ac justiciâ, necnon super dictæ dominæ Mariæ legitimitate et natalium defectu, multæ gravesque quæstiones subortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac

85 in judicio et veritate discutiendis, nos bene multis argumentis perspeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) æquitatis rationem ab ipso pontifice Romano habitam fuisse; et multa sive temporum iniquitate sive hominum vicio contra omne jus phasque in præmissis et circa ea designata.

Voluimus in hâc causâ tam gravi integerimos quosque regni nostri viros, ac non modo in sacrâ theologiâ peritissimos, verum etiam juris ecclesiastici callentissimos consulere: quibus etiam mandavimus ut quid in totâ hâc causâ secundum Deum et conscientiam sentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque responderent.

Quoniam autem habitis prius inter dictos eruditissimos viros maturâ deliberatione, diligenti examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium et singulorum unanimi sententiâ et conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, et plene intelleximus, non solum quod dicta dispensatio fuit et est omnino nulla, inefficax et invalida tam propter surreptionis et obreptionis vicia, quam propter alias causas, maxime vero propter potestatis in dispensante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod matrimonia cum relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis contracta, sint de jure naturali et divino prohibita, nec Romanus pontifex nec ulla alia humana potestas possit dispensare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut consistant; verum etiam quod præfatum matrimonium inter dictum charissimum fratrem nostrum ac præfatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut præfertur contractum, fuit et est incestuosum, ac prorsus nullum, ac etiam contra sacrosancta Dei præcepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam divina quam humana usurpatum, quodque proinde dicta domina Maria in eodem prætenso matrimonio ut præfertur, suscepta et procreata, ad omnem juris effectum spuria et illegitima proles, ac ex illicito et incesto coitu genita fuit et est, sicque ab omnibus reputari, censeri, et haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum matrimonium quod idem charissimus frater noster cum dictâ clarissimâ dominâ Annâ Angliæ reginâ contraxit, fuit, et est modis omnibus sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum: quodque dicta illustris domina Elisabeth Angliæ princeps ex eodem matrimonio, suscepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem matrimonio, divinâ bonitate imposterum suscipienda, legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet.

Ac denique cum non solum multi ex reverendissimis Romanæ sedis cardinalibus inter quos imprimis fuit reverendissimus ille quondam Anconitanus, verum etiam ipse nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens papa Septimus, ex certâ et deliberatâ animi sui sententiâ, cum nobis ipsis Marsiliæ tunc existentibus, tum alias sæpe oratoribus nostris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis suæ oraculo confessus sit, et expresse declaravit se sentire, dictam dispensationem et matrimonium cum dictâ dominâ Catherinâ contractum, fuisse et esse nulla prorsus, et de jure invalida, quodque eadem sic fuisse et esse per suam sententiam definitivam seu finale decretum, declarâsset, pronunciâsset, et definivisset si privati quidam affectus et respectus humani non obstitissent.

Nos igitur Franciscus Francorum rex antedictus, ut justum veritati suffragium ferentes, simul et justissimæ charissimi fratris nostri causæ patrocinemur, notum facimus et in publicam testationem deduci volumus, per præsentes, quod nos primum quidem dictam dispensationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut prædicitur emanavit, nullam prorsus ac minus validam, et ex dictis causis inefficacem irritam et inanem fuisse semper, et esse; deinde ipsum matrimonium quod ejusdem dispensationis 86
virtute cum dictâ dominâ Catherinâ olim de facto contractum fuit, incestuosum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali juri et divino contrarium fuisse et esse, ac pro incestuoso, nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere; denique dictam dominam Mariam ex eo matrimonio ut præmittitur susceptam, prorsus illegitimam et ad succedendum in paternâ hæreditate prorsus inhabilem fuisse et esse, et pro tali haberi censerique debere reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus.

Similiter reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus quod matrimonium illud quod idem serenissimus rex et charissimus frater noster, cum præfatâ illustrissimâ dominâ Annâ contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum, et quod proles ex eodem matrimonio suscepta seu suscipienda, maxime autem dicta clarissima domina Elisabeth nunc Angliæ princeps ex eisdem ut præfertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet. Quodque non solum omnia et singula quæ dictus serenissimus rex et charissimus frater noster, pro confir-

mando et stabiliendo hujusmodi matrimonio suo quod cum præfatâ illustrissimâ dominâ Annâ Angliæ reginâ contraxit, necnon pro dictæ dominæ Elisabeth filiæ suæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc matrimonio procreabuntur, legitimâ et hereditariâ in regnum suum successione, statuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, justissimis et æquissimis fundamentis innitantur et subsistant; verum etiam quod omnia et singula sententiæ, censuræ, decreta, alii quicumque processus et judicia contra præmissa, ac eorum occasione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcumque judicem, sive aliam autoritatem quamcumque facta, edita aut promulgata, aut imposterum edenda, ferenda, facienda sive promulganda, sint ipso jure nulla, irrita, injusta et iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, et censeri debere certo credimus, constanter attestamur, censemus, asserimus, et affirmamus per præsentes.

Promittimus insuper in fide ac verbo regio, ac sub ypothecâ omnium bonorum nostrorum patrimonialium et fiscalium, necnon bonorum subditorum nostrorum, etiam in formâ contractûs Garenticii paratam executionem habentis, obligamus nos hæredes et successores nostros, dicto serenissimo Henrico charissimo fratri nostro, hæredibus et successoribus suis, quod nos hanc animi nostri sententiam, et judicium, quod super præmissis nos habere vere et ex animo declaravimus, semper et ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus et singulis futuris synodis, aut conciliis generalibus, et coram quibuscumque judicibus, necnon apud et contra omnes homines; quicumque eidem sententiæ nostræ quâcunque ratione adversabuntur, cujuscumque autoritatis, præeminenciæ aut dignitatis, etiam si supremæ fuerint, per nos ac nostros subditos quoscumque, tam in judicio quam extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac si opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus justificabimus; nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore imposterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem sententiæ nostræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus, moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis imposterum cujuscumque autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis est, permittemus,
87 quod in irritacionem, enervationem, præjudicium, aut in contrarium huic nostræ sententiæ cedat, aut cedere possit quovismodo.

In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

Marked on the back, thus:

*Instrument of Francys the First, king of France, whereby he justifieth the marriage of king Henry the VIIIth with queen Anne, and declareth the invalidity of the former with Q. Catherin, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation.*

In another place, on the back, and with another ancienter hand, (I believe, Cromwell's:)[46]

*An instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highness' first marriage, and the validity of the second.*[47]

[46] [The hand is not Cromwell's.]

[47] [The rough draft of this declaration in French is printed in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 602, from the original in the State Paper Office. The corrections in the hand of Henry are numerous, and have been noticed by the editor, who has printed them in small capitals. It is there placed as if it belonged to May 1535. There is a very interesting extract published in Tierney's edition of Dodd's Church History, Appendix, p. 411, from the 'original in my possession,' which appears to belong to October 1535. The paper is entitled, 'Instructions given by the king's highness to the right reverend father in God, his right trusty and well-beloved counsellor the bishop of Winchester, whom his majesty at this time sendeth to his good brother and perpetual ally the French king, for the causes and purposes hereafter ensuing.' The original sketch is endorsed, 'A devise in Frenshe to be confirmed by the Frenshe king for the adnullacion and revocacion of the Bishop of Rome's sentences against the King's Highnes. The editor of State Papers says, 'a fair copy of the declaration, but considerably different in some parts, is in the State Paper Office.' This document has also been printed in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. Appendix, Number 37, p. 27.]

A

# COLLECTION

OF

# RECORDS, &c.

## BOOK III.

### Number XXXVII. [p. 103.]

*Cranmer's letter to Cromwell; justifying himself, upon some complaints made by Gardiner. An original.*

RIGHT worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you, most heartily thanking you, for that you have signified unto me by my chaplain master Champion, the complaint of the bishop of Wynchester unto the king's highness, in two things concerning my visitation. The one is, that in my style I am written, *Totius Angliæ Primas,* to the derogation and prejudice of the king's high power and authority, being supreme head of the church. The other is, that his diocese (not past five years agone) was visited by my predecessor, and must from henceforth pay the tenth part of the spiritualities, according to the act granted in the last session of this parliament; wherefore he thinketh, that his diocese should not be charged with my visitation at this time. [Cotton MSS. Cleop. F. i. fol. 260.]

First, as concerning my style, wherein I am named *Totius Angliæ Primas.* I suppose, that to make his cause good (which else in deed were nought), he doth mix it with the king's cause (as ye know the man lacketh neither learning in the law, neither witty invention, ne craft to set forth his

matters to the best), that he might appear not to maintain his own cause, but the king's; against whose highness, he knoweth right well, that I will maintain no cause; but give place, and lay both my cause and self at my prince's feet. But to be plain, what I think of the bishop of Winchester, I cannot persuade with myself, that he so much tendereth the king's cause, 88
as he doth his own, that I should not visit him: and that appeareth by the very time. For if he cast no farther, but the defence of the king's grace's authority, or if he intended that at all, why moved he not the matter, before he received my monition for my visitation; which was within four miles of Winchester delivered unto him the 20th day of April last, as he came up to the court? Moreover, I do not a little marvel why he should now find fault, rather than he did before, when he took the bishop of Rome as chief head: for though the bishop of Rome was taken for supreme head, notwithstanding that, he had a great number of primates under him; and by having his primates under him, his supreme authority was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the king's highness, being supreme head, have primates under him, without any diminishing, but with the augmenting of his said supreme authority. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the bishop of Winchester knoweth as well as any man living, that in case this said style, or title, had been in any point impediment or hindrance to the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long been unreformed as it hath been. For I doubt not, but all the bishops of England, would ever gladly have had the archbishops' both authority, and title taken away, that they might have been equal together; which well appeareth by the many contentions against the archbishops, for jurisdiction, in the court of Rome; which had been easily brought to pass, if the bishops of Rome had thought the archbishops' titles and styles to be any derogation to their supreme authority.

All this notwithstanding, if the bishops of this realm pass no more of their names, styles and titles, than I do of mine; the king's highness shall soon order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my style were against the king's authority (whereunto I am specially sworn) I would sue myself unto his grace, that I might leave it; and so would have done be-

fore this time. For, I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart, that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, farther than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein, for God must be judge who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself: but I speak forsomuch as I do feel in my heart, for many evil affections lie lurking there, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing, at the pleasure and suit of the bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me, than he is. Even at the beginning first of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desired *gerere primatum in ecclesiâ*, as saith St. John in his last Epistle. And since, he hath had more successors than all the apostles had, of whom have come all these glorious titles, styles, and pomps into the church. But I would, that I, and all my brethren the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves *apostolos Jesu Christi:* so that we took not upon us the name
89 vainly, but were so even in deed; so that we might order our diocese in such sort, that neither paper, parchment, lead nor wax, but the very Christian conversation of the people, might be the letters and seals of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paul, to whom he said, *Literæ nostræ, et signa apostolatûs nostri vos estis.*

Now for the second; where the bishop of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessor, and the tenth part now to be paid to the king. Truth it is, that my predecessor visited the diocese of Wynchester, after the decease of my lord cardinal, as he did all other dioceses (*sede vacante*); but else I think it was not visited by none of my predecessors this forty years. And notwithstanding that, he himself not considering their charges, at that time charged them with a new visitation, within less than half a year after; and that against all right, as doctor Incent hath reported to my chancellor, the clergy at that time paying to the king half of their benefices in five years, which is the tenth part every year, as they paid before, and have paid since, and shall pay still for ever by the last act. But I am very glad, that he hath now some compassion of his diocese, although at that time he had very small, when

he did visit them the same year that my predecessor did visit. And also other bishops, whose course is to visit this year, keep their visitation (where I did visit the last year), notwithstanding the tenth part to be paid to the king's grace. Howbeit I do not so in Wynchester diocese, for it is now the third year since that diocese was visited by any man, so that he hath the least cause to complain of any bishop, for it is longer since his diocese was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the matter, the charges of the late act granted, it is no more against me, than against all other bishops that do visit this year, nor maketh no more against me this year, than it made against me the last year, and shall do every year hereafter. For if they were true men, in accounting and paying the king's subsidy, they are no more charged by this new act, than they were for the space of ten years past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, If my said lord of Wynchester's objections should be allowed this year, he might (by such arguments) both disallow all manner visitations that hath be done these ten years past, and that ever shall be done hereafter. Now I pray you, good master secretary, of your advice, whither I shall need to write unto the king's highness herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation.

At Otteforde, the 12th day of May.

Your own ever assured

Thomas Cantuar.[1]

[1] [This letter had been previously printed by Strype in his Memorials of Cranmer, Appendix, Number xiv. p. 19.]

90 ## Number XXXVIII. [p. 106.]

*A letter of Barlow's to Cromwell, complaining of the bishop and clergy of St. David's.*

PLEASETH your good mastership, with compassion to advertise the complaint and unfeigned petition of your humble orator, disquietly vexed without cause or any pretensed occasion, motioned of your said orator's part: whereas the queen, of her gracious bounty, advouched me unworthy the priorship of Haverford West, under her grace's foundation, since the time of my there continual residence; considering the hungry famine of hearing the word of God, and desolate scarcity of true preachers, I have endeavoured myself, with no small bodily danger against Antichrist, and all his confederate adherents, sincerely to preach the gospel of Christ; whose verity, as it is invincible, so is it incessantly assaulted of faithless false perverters; by reason whereof, they which of duty ought to fortify me in maintaining the truth, maliciously have conceived a malevolent mind, causeless to malign against me in such wise, that I was forced (from their tyranny) to appeal unto the king his honourable council; as plainly appeareth by the untrue, surmised articles, falsely contrived by the Black Friar of Haverford West; which though I presented to your mastership, as the act of his only doing, yet was it the maintenance of the bishop, and his unghostly spiritual officers; which is evident by the reward of the bishop to the friar, at his departing also by his letters directed to Mr. dean of the arches, and to doctor Huys, diligently to solicit that I might be suppressed in my just matter: and where they sith perceive that (praise be to God) under the favour of your righteous equity, they cannot prevail against me as they wilfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertain to me, troubling them with tyranny for my sake, no such cruelty deserving. As, where of late I sent a servant home about certain business; immediately after his coming, the bishop's officers cited him to appearance, ransacking his house, forced him to deliver such

Cotton lib. Cleop. E.iv. fol. 107. [al. 128.]

books as he had; that is to say, an English Testament, the Exposition of the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of Matthewe, the Ten Commandments, and the Epistle of Saint John; violently withholding them with vehement reproaches, and clamorous exclamations against heretics: as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresy, to no little dismaying and fearful discomfort of the sincere favourers of God's word. Moreover, they charged in the king's name, the mayor of Tynby, in pain of five hundred marks, to put in ward the said poor man, his wife, and a certain honest widow of inculpable fame, with whom they were at host, laying certain articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake, and after most shameful rumours raised up to their defamation, 91
with slanderous wonderment of the town, all crafty means essayed to bring in false witness, when no accuser would appear openly; as a true certificate under the town's seal, largely doth testify; the above mentioned officers without any charitable satisfaction to the said parties wrongfully imprisoned, bade the mayor do with them as he lusted; and so thence departing made their advaunt in places where they came of their valiant acts against heretics, meaning thereby the favourers of Christ's gospel: in consideration whereof, it may please your singular goodness to provide a redress, that from the terror of such tyrannies, the king's faithful subjects, your poor orators may peaceably live according to God's laws, without any such unchristian empeschment, and cumbrous vexations.

Furthermore unfeignedly to ascertain your mastership in what piteous case greatly lamentable the king's faithful subjects, the poor residents in the diocese of Saint David, your suppliant orators are miserably ordered under the clergy, requireth a far larger process than here may conveniently be comprised: for though we have semblably to other dioceses, in outward authority and exterior ceremonies a bishop, a suffragan, archdeacons, deans, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers, intitled with spiritual names; also a multitude of monks, canons, friars, and secular priests, yet among them all, so many in number, and in so large a diocese, is there not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that heartily favoureth it, but all utter enemies there against, whose stubborn resistance cannot be without froward rebellion against

the king's gracious acts established upon the verity of God's word. And concerning the enormous vices, the fraudulent exactions, the misordered living, and heathen idolatry, shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction; which by sequel of their blind wilful ignorance, do consequently follow, no diocese, I suppose, more corrupted, nor none so far out of frame, without hope of reformation, except your mastership shall see a redress, in whom under the king's grace, the trust of all those that mean well only consisteth. Finally their abused fashions at length to discover at your commandment; I shall be ready with such certainty of truth, that no adversary shall be able to make contrary denial; which so performed, it may then please your good mastership to license me for to depart, under the lawful favour of your protection; without the which, neither can I without peril repair home, nor there in safety continue, among so odious adversaries of Christ's doctrine, by whose tyranny, that I may not be unjustly oppressed, I most humbly beseech your assistant aid, howbeit no farther than the verity of scripture will justify my cause; neither for no carnal commodity of any worldly preferment, but all only for the advancement of Christ's gospel, to the honour of God, who evermore graciously preserve your mastership in honourable felicity.

Your humble orator William

Barlo, prior of Haverford-West.

[Endorsed,

*To the right honourable master Thomas Crumwell, chief secretary to the king's highness.*]

## Number XXXIX. [p. 106.] 92

*A letter of Dr. Legh's, concerning their visitation at York. To Mr. Cromwell, chief secretary.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E.iv. fol. 104. [al. 125.]

RIGHT worshipful sir, my duty pre-supposed, this is to advertise you, that master doctor Layton and I, the 11th day of January, were with the archbishop of Yorke, whom we according to your pleasure and precepts have visited: enjoining him to preach and teach the word of God (according to his bound duty), to his cure committed unto him, and also in the knowledge concerning the prerogative power that the king's grace have, and to see other here in his jurisdiction being endued with good qualities, having any respect either to God, goodness, virtue, or godliness, to perform the same, enjoining moreover to him to bring up unto you his first, second, and third foundations, whereupon he enjoyeth his office, and prerogative power, with the grants, privileges and concessions given to him, and to his see appertaining; the which when that you have read them, and know in all points the whole effect of them, I do not doubt, but that you shall see and read many things worthy reformation. By the knowledge whereof, I suppose the king's highness and you will be glad, and to think it meet that every bishop were in like wise ordered: then should they, them under their governance edify much in Christ in his doctrine and teachings: and then the poor ignorant persons now by blindness and ignorance seduced, might thereby be brought to light and knowledge, whereby they should profit much, the wealth of their own souls, and the commonalty: and it should be greatly expedient to the conservation of their fidelity toward their prince, and to his grace's succession now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have informed your mastership of our acts and deeds, done to a good end, as our opinion serve us, it shall lie in your circumspect prudence and wisdom to order all things, as ye shall think to your approved discretion most meet, and to the furtherance of

the glory of God, and preservation of the commonwealth, most expedient and necessary. For in the same injunctions given heretofore either augmented or diminished, to be ministered to other bishops as shall be thought to your wisdom most convenient; I do not doubt but it shall be much profitable, and commodious both to the king's highness, and to your mastership, as knoweth God, who ever preserve your mastership.

From Yorke the 13th day of January.

Yours ever assured,

Thomas Legh[2].

[Endorsed,

*To the right honourable master Thomas Crumwell, chief secretary unto the king's highness and master of his rolls, this be delivered.*]

[2] [Both this and the preceding letter have been printed from the same manuscript, in the Camden Society's volume on the Suppression of the Monasteries. The archbishop's account of the same visitation may be seen in his letter to Cromwell, of the 13th of January, 1535–6, printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 453.]

## Number XL. [p. 106.] 93

*A letter of Tunstall's upon the king's ordering the bishops to send up their bulls. An original.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. VI. fol. 246.

RIGHT honourable, in my humble manner I recommend me unto your good mastership. Advertising the same, that I have of late received a letter from master doctor Layton, declaring unto me that ye willed him to write unto me, that albeit the king's highness hath directed his letters missives to all and singular his bishops in this his realm, to appear before his grace immediately after the feast of the Purification next coming, to the intent they shall deliver up unto his grace's hands all their bulls of confirmation, or such other like, as they have had from Rome at any time heretofore; yet his grace considering my late departure thence, for my more ease and quietness, is well content that I make mine abode here, so that I write unto his grace a letter, therein declaring that I will be content to do as other bishops do in this behalf, and to give up into his hands all such bulls as his grace's pleasure is to have of me. Advertising me further, that your mastership, as my great friend hath promised to the king's highness that I will accomplish the king's desire and pleasure herein: for which your most great kindness not only shewed unto me many times heretofore, but also now renewed at this time, with making of such assurance for me to the king's highness I most humbly thank your mastership. Advertising the same, that forasmuch as I could not perceive by any part of master Layton's letter to what intent the king's highness would have the said bulls delivered into his hands; and if in my letter to be written unto his grace I should mistake his intent, I should not only thereby offend his grace, which I would be as loath to do as any subject within his realm, but also make him to be displeased with my kinsman, that so blindly had written unto me, and peradventure with your mastership for using him for your secretary in this behalf: considering with myself the whole effect of the

same letter to be to have my bulls into his hands, thought it most best to send up the said bulls there to be ready to be delivered at his grace's will and pleasure: humbly beseeching your mastership to move the king's highness to be good and gracious sovereign lord unto me, and to consider that if I should now in my age leave my bishopric, which I trust his grace of his goodness meaneth not to make me to do, by demanding of my bulls to be delivered into his hands, it should not only disappoint me of my living, but many other my ser-
94 vants his subjects, that have their living only by me, who if I should leave my promotion should be thereby destitute of succour; which being my special trust that his grace of his inestimable goodness will have respect unto, and that my mind herein, not to leave my promotion, is neither ambitious nor unreasonable, nor contrary to his grace's intent, I have sent up the said bulls there to be ready, which thing since it is more than I was willed to do by master Layton's letter, I have forborne to write unto his grace that I would do it, seeing I do indeed accomplish his grace's pleasure. Praying humbly your mastership upon advertisement given to the king's highness hereof, to know his will and pleasure what he will have to be done, and the same so known to declare unto this bearer William Redmayn, who thereupon shall deliver the said bulls into your hands, or to whom the king's grace will appoint to receive them, if the king's will and pleasure be to have them. Which I do undoubtedly trusting that the king's highness will be as good to me, as he is to other bishops of his realm being in like case, seeing I had them by him, and did renounce all things contained in them contrary to his prerogative royal, at such time as I presented to his grace his bull unto him, as it will appear by the oath of my homage remaining with the said bull in the king's records now being in your keeping, as all bishops ever have been accustomed to do by the laws of this realm heretofore used. The bulls that I do send remaining in my hands concerning my bishopric be five in number, the other were delivered to whom they were directed: one to the king's highness, another to my lord cardinal, then being my metropolitan, whose soul God pardon, another to my late lord of [fol. 247.]
Rochester to take my oath to the bishop of Rome, which I think was sent up to Rome with the oath as hath been accus-

tomed to be done. And so those that I now send did remain still in my hands. And other bulls than these have I none, humbly beseeching your mastership in all mine affairs to be good master unto me, and to be mean unto the king's highness to be good and gracious sovereign lord unto me, and I shall according to my most bounden duty, daily pray for the preservation of his royal estate long to endure; and likewise I shall continue daily beadman to your mastership, whom Almighty Jhesu preserve in long life and good health to his pleasure and yours.

From Aukelande the 29th day of January;

Your mastership's humble beadman

Cuthbert Duresme.

95 ## Number XLI. [p. 108.]

*A letter of the archbishop of York's, concerning the suppression of the monasteries.*

RIGHT honourable, after my heartiest commendation. According to your request made to me in your letters, I have forthwith upon the receipt of the same, sent commandment to certain monasteries for being nigh to Yorke, where I was then; and now I have given commandment to all archdeacons to warn all monasteries, of less yearly value than two hundred pound, being within their archdeaconries, that they shall nothing imbecille, ne alien; and if they have, that they shall again call such things aliened, or imbecilled, to their hands. Some that were noted to have received some goods of such monasteries, I called and warned, that they should in no wise meddle with any such goods; and that if they had any such, that they should restore them: and furthermore, if any such goods shall be offered to them, that they should give me warning. And for because most resort for such purpose is to the city of Yorke, I have warned the mayor of Yorke, and other of his brethren thereof, and specially the master of the mint, upon their peril and danger, that they receive no goods of any such monastery. And further herein I intend to do from time to time, as I shall see need, and daily do warn such as do resort to me, that they meddle not with any such goods, that by them this commandment may be the more published, as I trust it shall be now by the archdeacons' officials, which be now all abroad, and have special commandment to set forth this propose. Cotton lib. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 239. [al. 286.]

Sir, I entirely pray you to be good to me, for two places of the patronage of the archbishops of Yorke, that if you shall think upon such considerations as I shall allege, that I have reason to sue for them, that you will help me with your good word, that they be not suppressed. The one of them named Saint Oswaldes, is not of foundation a monastery of religious men, but is *libera capella archiepiscopi.* No man hath title

in it but the archbishop: the prior thereof is removable at my pleasure, and accountable to me; and the archbishop may put there, if he will, secular priests, and so would I have done at my entry, if I had not there found one of mine acquaintance, whom I judged meet to be there under me. And moreover, the archbishops of Yorke had it given to them by William Rufus, in exchange for recompense, as well of lands as jurisdiction, taken from them at the coming in of William Conqueror, as appeareth in my registers, and other old books. And in the same it appeareth, that the said chapel enjoyeth all privileges, like as all other the king's free chapels; for it was some time *libera capella regia:* and for the defence of the said privileges, and jurisdiction there, my predecessors have always had writs from the king, against all disturbers; 96
because it is no other but *libera capella*, and some time was the king's.

The other is called Hexham, upon the borders of Scotland, and was some time *sedes episcopalis;* and many holy men, some time bishops there, be buried[3] in that church, saints of name. And wise men, that know the borders, think, that the lands thereof, although they were ten times as much, cannot countervail the damage, that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. And some way, there is never a house between Scotland and the lordship of Hexham; and men fear, if the monastery go down, that in process all shall be waste much within the land. And what comfort that monastery is daily to the country there, and specially in time of war, not only the countrymen do know, but also many of the noblemen of this realm, that hath done the king's highness service in Scotland. I doubt not, but that the land of that monastery is better than two hundred pound by year; as likewise the archbishop's lands were much better if they lay in a quiet place. Some of my predecessors have had their 1300 marks by year, and now it is (*communibus annis*) under two hundred pounds. I entirely pray you, if you think I have reason, send for these two, that you will help me to save them. And as for Hexham, I think it is necessary to be considered, as (I think) they that know the borders will say.

[3] [The word *buried* is supplied by the same hand in the original in the margin.]

Sir, According to the king's commandment, I have generally given commandment, that no preachers shall be suffered, that without discretion preach novelties, and (as you right wisely considered) do rather sow seeds of dissension, than do any good: and some such as I have heard to use such preaching, I have discharged; and yet they preach: but I make process against them: and some of them say, they will get license of the king to preach. If they obtain any such license, I then am discharged for them that have such license. But I trust, that you will suffer no such license to pass, but that I shall know thereof: and what your pleasure is then, if they preach such novelties, I pray you I may know by this bearer. Some say, they have license of my lord of Canterbury; but, I trust, they have no such: and if they have, none shall be obeyed here, but only the king's and yours. And this in my heartiest manner. Fare you well.

From Cawode, the 23th of April 1536.

Your own ever assured

Edouarde Ebor[4].

[4] [This letter also has been printed from the original, in the Camden Society's volume on the Suppression of Monasteries.]

## Number XLII. [p. 110.] 97

*Instructions*[5] *for sending Barnes, and others to Germany. An original.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 330.

MASTER secretary, after our most hearty commendations, ye shall understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the king's majesty; his pleasure thereupon was, that we should despatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concerning the accomplishment and doing of these things ensuing.

First, his grace's pleasure, that ye shall immediately (upon the receipt hereof) despatch Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany; commanding him to use such diligence in his journey, that he may and it be possible, meet with Melancton before his arrival in Fraunce: and in case he shall so meet with him, not only to dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that will not grant unto the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this part all persuasions, reasons and means, that he can devise, to empech and let his said journey thither; laying unto him, how much it should be to his shame and reproach, to vary and go now from that true opinion wherein he hath so long continued; but also, on the other side, to persuade him all that he may, to convert his said journey hither, shewing as well the conformity of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobility and virtues of the king's majesty, with the good entertainment which undoubtedly he shall have here at his grace's hands.

And if percase the said Barnes shall not meet with him before his arrival in Fraunce, then the said Barnes proceeding himself forth in his journey towards the princes of Germany, shall (with all diligence) return in post to king's highness the said Derik, with advertisement of the certainty of the said

[5] [These instructions were afterwards printed by Strype from the same manuscript, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i. Appendix, p. 163. Strype's transcript was found not so correct as Burnet's. This document also appears in Weever's Funeral Monuments, Preface, p. lxxviii.]

Melancton's coming into Fraunce, and such other occurrents as he shall then know. And if the said Derik be not now ready to go with him, the king's pleasure is, ye shall in his stead, appoint and send such one other with the said Barnes, as ye shall think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shall arrive with the said princes of Germany, the king's pleasure is, he shall (on his grace's behalf) as well persuade them to persist and continue in their former good opinion, concerning the denial of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, declaring their own honour, reputation and surety, to depend thereupon; and that they now may better maintain their said just opinion therein than ever they might, having the king's majesty (one of the most noble and puissant princes of the world) of like opinion and judg-
98 ment with them; who having proceeded therein by great advice, deliberation, consultation, and judgments (of the most part) of the great and famous clerks in Christendome, will in no wise relent, vary, or alter in that behalf. Like as the said Barnes may declare and shew unto them, by a book made by the dean of the chapel, and as many of the bishop's sermons as you have. Which book ye shall receive herewith; the copy whereof, and of the said sermons, ye must deliver unto the said Barnes, at his departure, for his better remembrance, and instruction.

To whom also his grace's pleasure is, ye shall shew as much of master Wallop's letter (which we send you also again), as ye shall see drawn and marked with a pen in the margin of the same. As also exhort and move them, in any wise to beware, how they commit any of their affairs to the order, direction, or determination of the French king, considering he and his council be altogether papist, and addict and bent to the maintenance and conservation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority.

Furthermore, the king's pleasure is, ye shall upon the receipt hereof, immediately cause Mr. Haynes, and Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France, to sir John Wallop, in as secret manner as they can; as coming like his friend to visit him, and not as sent by the king. And in case they shall (by him, or otherwise) learn and know that Melancton is there arrived; then his grace will, that the said Haynes and Mont

shall (in such sort as they be not much noted) resort unto him: and for the dissuading of his continuance there, or the alteration of his opinion, and the alluring of him hither, to use such reasons and persuasions as be before written, with such other as they can further devise for that purpose. To the which Haynes and Mont, the king's pleasure is, ye shall deliver like copies of the said dean's book, and bishop's sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melancthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the achievement of the king's purpose in that behalf.

Ye shall also understand, that the king's pleasure is, ye shall write to sir John Wallop, and send unto him therewith like copies; willing him, in case he shall have certain knowledge that the articles be true, (written in these his letters,) concerning the French king's sending into Germany, for the continuance of the bishop of Rome's pretended supremacy; to repair with the said copies to the French king; and not only to set the same forth, with such reasons as he can devise in that part, shewing, how much it shall be against his honour, both to give himself subject to the said bishop, and to move others to do the semblable; but also to declare unto him, that the king's highness (remembering his old friendly promises, concerning the maintenance of his cause, and of his proceedings touching the same) cannot think it a little strange, that the said French king (seeing his majesty hath, in his doings touching the said bishop of Rome, moved neither his, nor any prince's subjects) will move and stir the Germaynes, to condescend upon a contrary opinion, both to themselves, and to his grace in this behalf: and that his majesty must needs think his amity much touched in that he should move any state or country, to do 99
that thing which is so much against the king's highness and his own promise, using all the ways he can to dissuade him from the dishonourable obedience of the said bishops, so moving him to incline to the king's just opinion touching the same.

Finally, the king's pleasure is, ye shall write another letter to the bishop of Aberden, signifying that the king's majesty taketh it very unkindly that the king his nephew would now embrace without his advice or counsel, being his dearest friend and uncle, and now in league and amity with him, the marriage of Monsieur de Vandom's daughter, whereunto he would give

none ear at his grace's overture heretofore made of the same; in your said letter, imputing a great negligence therein to the said bishop, and other of his master's council, seeing their master sheweth not, in the doing thereof, such amity towards the king's highness as the friendship between them doth require:

And to make an end, his grace will in no wise that Barnes, or Haynes, shall tarry for any further instruction of the bishop of Cantorbury, or any other, having his grace determined to send the same after, by Mr. Almoner and Hethe; but that he, Mr. Haynes, and Mount, shall with all possible diligence depart immediately in post, without longer tarrying than for this their despatch shall be necessary, so as their abode empeche not the king's purpose touching the said Melancton. And thus fare you most heartily well.

From Langley in much haste, this Monday[6] at four of the clock, at afternoon.

Your loving friend

T. Norfolk.

George Rocheford.

[6] [The date of this letter is probably July 26, 1535. See State Papers, vol. vii. p. 622, for the letter from Haynes and Mont to the king alluded to in the text of the History, p. 111, dated from Rheims, August 8, shewing that Melancthon was not come into France nor likely to come. They left England on the 1st of August. See also another letter of the same date from Mont to Cromwell. Ibid. p. 624.]

## Number XLIII. [p. 113.]

*The Smalcaldic league.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 303.

By the grace of God, we John Frederich duke of Saxony, high marshal of the empire of Rome, and prince elector, lantgrave of Thuringie, and marquis of Misne, as well in our own name, as in the name of the noble prince John Ernest, likewise duke of Saxonye, our most beloved brother, Philippe, Ernest, Frauncis, brethren dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Ulrich duke of Wurtemberg, and in Deck, earl in Montbelyard; Philipp landgrave of Hessen, earl of Catts in Dietz, Zigenham and Nyde; Berminus and Philip, dukes of Stettin, Pomeren, Cassaburn, Wenden, princes of Rug, earls in Gurkan; Wolfgang John, George, and Joachim, brethren princes in Anhalt, earls of Ascanion, and lords in Bernburg; Gebhard and Albert, brethren, earls and lords in Mansfeld; the consuls, decurions, tribunes, senate, and people of the within named cities of the High-Germany, Saxon, and Hanse, or on the sea, that is to say, Argentina, Augusta, Frankford, Constantia, Ulme, Esling, Rentling, Memingia, Linde, Bibrac, Isna, Magdeburgh, Breme, Brunswick, Goslaria, Hamibria, Gottingia, Embeck, Hamburga, Lubeck, and Myndia: 100

Do profess by these our letters, in the name of us, our heirs and successors, and do signifyto all men that; seen the state of this season, is every where very perilous, and appeareth so, that many men are about and practise to disturb, such as do cause, and suffer the sincere doctrine of the gospel to be preached and taught in their dukedoms, provinces, cities and territories, (by the grace of God) and which (abolishing all abuses) do study to bring in ceremonies consenting to the word of God: and efforce themselves to divert them from Christ's doctrine; yea, by force and violence: And seen also that the office of every Christian magistrate, is not only to suffer that the sincere word of God be preached to his subjects; but also with all his study, care, and solicitude to provide (to his power) that the wholesome doctrine of the gospel and the truth, once known and professed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the same: for this cause, we do know-

ledge that it is our most duty and necessity, of the office of our magistrate, in case now or hereafter it should happen, that any man would attempt and essay to divert us, or our subjects, by force or deed, from the word of God, and the truth known; and to bring in again, and restore the ungodly ceremonies and abuses already abolished (which God by his good clemency will forbid, as we trust that no man will attempt such thing) for to repress such violence and peril from the bodies and souls of us and our subjects, by the grace of God, and for to excuse and avoid the same to the praise of God, to the augmentation of the sincere doctrine of the gospel, and to the conservation of the uniform estate, tranquillity, and honesty public, in the [fol. 304.] empire, for the love of the nation of Alemayne; and also for the commodity, honour, and good of our dukedoms, provinces, lordships, and cities, only to provide for the cause of our defence, and tuicion; the which is permitted to every man, not only by the law of nature and of men, but also by the law written. Therefore we have assembled and concluded, to give and be bound each to other of a Christian, lawful and friendly league and confederation, and by the virtue, force, and reason of these our letters, we agree, conclude, and bind ourselves each to other upon a confederation, with the conditions as followeth, that is to say, that all and every of us shall be bound to favour each other heartily and truly, and to warn each other of all imminent danger, and to avoid it: and that none of us, openly, or secretly, shall wittingly give passage to the enemies, or adversaries of the other, nor to warm, or support them.

101 And because this confederation is only made for cause of our tuicion and defence, and not to the intent that any of us shall move war, if there shall happen any of us whatsoever he be, to be violently assaulted for the word of God, the doctrine of the gospel and our faith, or for such other causes as do spread or depend of the word of God, the doctrine of the gospel, or our faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other pretext or colour, there should be any violence attempted against any of us, and that we the rest, which should not then be invaded might think and judge that such war, or violence, should be moved for the cause of the word of God, or of the religion; and that he to whom the war, or violence is imminent, would permit it to our knowledge, arbitration, and decision; that

then we all the rest of this confederation, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Christian confederation shall be bound to take no less to heart, and take in hand as diligently to provide for the same, incontinently as such persons that be invaded, shall require our help, or that we shall know it, (with all our power) as though we should be assaulted ourselves, and for our own proper cause: and therefore without any delay, and without any deceit or guile, without tarrying for any other, with all our might and power, we shall be bound to succour, defend, and help him that shall be assaulted, after such form and manner, as for the quality and circumstances of the thing, and the time it shall be adjudged most util and most commodious to the rest of us; and like as the fidelity and charity to be given and shewed to the neighbours upon his conscience and salut shall teach him, and that we shall truly administer and deal one with another. And that in such case never one of us shall agree, compound, or make any transaction, or truce without the assent and will of the rest.

Also that this our Christian confederation shall be taken and understanden to be in no wise prejudicial or hurtful to the emperor's majesty, our clementissime lord; nor to any state of the empire, or any other: but only for the conservation of the doctrine and truth of the gospel, and of the peace and tranquillity in the empire and Alemayne nation, and to withstand wrongful violence from us and our subjects and allies; and only in case of defence, and in such case as every of us may bear and suffer the just knowledge and decision of his own cause as is aforesaid, and none otherwise. And if any man will be joined to this our confederation, which is not comprehended in it already, so that he be dedicate to the word of God, and shall permit the sincere doctrine of the gospel, conformable to our confession, exhibited to the emperor's majesty, and to all the orders of the empire in the assembly at Augsburg, freely to be preached, taught, and kept in his lands, province, and dominions, and will constantly stick to the same doctrine, he or they ought to be ascribed and received in this confederation, by the assent and will of us all.

And because that Christian confederation, which shall be finished the Sunday *Invocavit*, the year of our Lord 1537, hath lasted the other six years last past, between us, excepted

us Ulrich, duke of Wirtemberg, etc. and us Bernim and Philipp,
102 dukes of Pomeren; us John, George, and Joachim, princes of Anhalt; and the cities of Augsburgh, Frankford, Kempt, Hamibra, and Mynda; we, at their friendly and diligent petition, have received them into this our confederation, and we do bind ourselves each to other again, that this Christian league shall be prorogued and extended, beginning from the said Sunday *Invocavit*, 1537, by the space of ten years next ensuing, as this Christian league by the ten years next ensuing, ought to be kept and prorogued constantly, sincerely, and *bonâ fide*, by us, and every of us, without any fraud, or malenyn.

And if it shall happen us to enter war with any man for the doctrine of the religion, or any other cause depending of the same, that should not be finished within the space of the said ten years, yet nevertheless, although the said time of ten years be utterly expired, yet the said expedition shall be continued and prosecuted, and the war brought to an end; and that then it shall not be lawful for any of the confederates to exempt him of the same, nor hope upon exemption, and from that time it shall be lawful for the confederates to protract and prolong this confederation, if they shall so think good.

We the foresaid elector and princes, earls and magistrates of cities by interposition of our faith instead of another[7], do promise and take upon us, for us, and for our heirs constantly [fol. 306.] and perpetually to observe and perform all and singular the premises truly and sincerely as it behoveth princes, and good men. And that we shall nor do, nor procure any thing in any wise to be done against this league and confederation: but in all points shall deal and proceed truly and sincerely without any fraud and malenyn. And for more credence and confirmation of all and every those things, every of us the said elector, princes, earls, and cities, in the name of us our heirs and successors, have caused our seals wittingly and willingly to be set to these presents, which have been given the year of the Nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1536[8].

[7] [Probably a mistake for *an oath.*]

[8] [This corresponds to December 25, 1535, according to our mode of computation. See the note on the next page.]

## Number XLIV.[9] [p. 114.] 103

*Propositions made to the king by the German princes.*

*The petition of the right noble princes, duke John Frederike, duke of Saxe, elector etc. and Philip the lantsgrave of Hesse, to the most noble king of Englonde; exhibited unto the right reverend father in God the bishop of Hereford, and his colleagues at Smalcaldia on the day of the Nativity of Criste, anno Dom.* 1536.[10]

Paper-Office.

1. That the said most noble king will promote and set forth the evangelie of Criste, and the sincere doctrine of the faith, after such sort, as the princes and states confederate have confessed the same and defended it, according to their apology and purgation made in the diet of Augusta; except percase some things therein, by the common consent of the said most noble king, and the said princes, shall seem necessary to be changed or reformed by the word of God.

[9] [This and the following paper are together, and endorsed 25 Dec. 1536. 'The petition of the . . . . of Saxe, landgrave of Hesse, to the king, for setting forth of God's word; and the king's answer thereto.'

Another endorsement of a few years later gives,

'The petition of the duke of Saxe, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, to the king's majesty concerning the setting forth of God's word. The answer of the king's majesty to the petition.']

[10] [This is the true date according to the ancient German method of computation, when the year began with Christmas. But the real date, according to our style, is December 25, 1535. The author's ignorance of this has led to great confusion. In the slight allusion to these proceedings in the first part of the History, p. 196, they are described in their right place, whilst in the third part, pp. 114, 115, the transaction is placed in the year 1536; and an allusion to the 'death of a woman' in Records, p. 109, is interpreted as referring to queen Anne Boleyn, who was still alive at the time when the answer was really sent, instead of Catharine, who had died just before. A letter in Latin from the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, 'written from Smalcald two days before, viz. Dec. 23, 1535, is printed in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 638. The substance of this paper, in a somewhat shorter form, has been printed by Strype in his Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. Appendix, Number LXIV. p. 157, from the Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi. fol. 296.]

2. *Item,* That the said most noble king will maintain and defend the said doctrine of the evangelie, and the ceremonies conform to the same, joining therein with the said princes and states confederate, in the future general council, if it shall be pious, catholic, free and mere Christian.

3. *Item,* That neither the said most noble king, without the express consent of the said princes and states confederate, nor the same princes and states, without the express consent of the said most noble king, shall assent nor consent to any indiction of any general council, which the bishop of Rome, that now is, or hereafter shall be, or any other, by whatsoever pretended authority, doth, or shall make; but shall neither consent to any place of a future council, nor to the council itself; except that all those things may be ordered and done, by the mutual consent of the said most noble king and princes and states confederate. Provided nevertheless, that if it shall appear certainly, by just arguments and reasons, such a Christian, free, general council, to be indicted, as the confederates, in their answer to the bishop of Rome's orator, named Peter Paule Verger, do require, that such a council shall not be refused.

104 4. *Item,* If it shall happen that (the said most noble king, and the said princes, and states confederate, not agreeing upon the place of the council, or also upon the indiction of the same) the bishop of Rome, and other princes with him conjoined in the same cause, will nevertheless proceed to the celebration of a council, or rather of an assembly such as they will devise, and that in a place whereupon the said most noble king, and the said princes, and states confederate shall not agree; that then, and in that case, as well the said most noble king, as the said noble princes and states confederate, shall (to their power) chiefly endeavour and compass, that the same indiction may be utterly letted, avoided, and take none effect.

5. And further, they shall make their public and solemn protestations, and semblably shall procure the same to be done by their clergy, whereby they shall both declare the sincerity of their faith, and utterly protest themselves to dissent from the said convocation and indiction; and that they will not be bound to any decrees or constitutions of the same council, (if any council do follow thereof in deed) nor in any manner of wise obey the same hereafter.

6. Also that they neither shall obey themselves, nor suffer any of theirs to obey any decrees, mandates or sentences, bulls, letters, or briefs, which shall proceed, or be fulminate from such a council, so indicted and celebrate either in the name of the bishop of Rome, or of any other potentate; but that they shall both repute and take all such rescripts, decrees, bulls and briefs, for nought, void, frustrate and of none effect; and also shall declare, that so they ought to be taken and reputed. And finally for the remotion of all slander, shall procure their bishops and preachers, to declare the same to the people really, and with effect.

7. *Item*, That like as the said most noble king, is by the grace of God associate to the princes and states confederate in the doctrine of Criste, and the confession of the same; so also his majesty will vouchsafe, upon honourable conditions, to be associate also to their league, and to take upon him the place and name of the defensor and protector of the said league.

8. *Item*, That neither the said most noble king, nor the said princes or states confederate, shall at any time hereafter recognize, maintain nor defend, that the primacy, or that monarchy of the bishop of Rome, at this present or ever hereafter ought to take place by God's law; but neither shall they ever consent to that sentence, nor grant, that it is either utile or expedient to the common wealth of Cristendom, that the bishop of Rome should have any preeminence before all the other bishops, or exercise hereafter any jurisdiction at all in the realms or dominions of the said king and princes in any manner of wise.

9. *Item*, If it happen, that war, or any other contention, either for the cause of religion, or besides this cause for any other whatsoever cause or matter be moved or inferred by any whatsoever prince, state, or commonalty against the said most noble king, his realms, dominions, or subjects, or against the said noble princes or states confederate; that in that case, neither of the said parties shall give any aid, help, or succour 105
against the other, nor shall assist or aid the prince or people so invading, or moving war, neither with counsel nor favour, directly nor indirectly, privily nor apertly.

10. *Item*, That the said most noble king will vouchsafe, to and for the defence of this league and cause most honest and holy, to

confer to the said noble princes, and with them giving surety (as within is added) to lay forth one hundred thousand crowns. Which money, it shall be lawful to the said confederates to use where it shall be need, in cause of defence, for the half part thereof. And the other part the confederates may take of the same money which they have contributed and laid down to the same sum. And if it shall be need of continual defence, for the continuance of the war, or invasion of adversaries; in that case, forasmuch as the princes and confederates be bound not only to further contribution of money, but also to the mutual defence with their bodies and goods; it may therefore please the said most noble king, not to be grieved in this cause of urgent necessity to contribute also further two hundred thousand crowns: which money, nevertheless, for the half part, the confederates may use with their own money.

And if it happen the war to be sooner ended, then that that shall be left and remain, shall be justly reserved, and (the time of the confederation finished) truly restored to the said most noble king.

11. Which if the said most noble king will do, the said princes do promise themselves, with sufficient sureties conjoined with them, to assure not only that they shall convert the said money to none other use, than to the defence of the league and cause of religion, together with their own money which they in such a confederation do contribute, but also that entirely and faithfully, they shall restore and pay to the said most noble king the same sum, which either when there shall be no need of defence, or (after the defence) shall remain in case it shall not be employed to that use.

12. *Item*, That forasmuch as the ambassadors of the said most noble king shall now for a time remain in Germanye, and dispute with the learned men of certain articles, the said princes do require that they will make means as soon as they can to know their said most noble king's mind and resolution, in the entering into the conditions, place and state of the said league; and when they shall be certified of the same, to signify it unto us the elector of Saxe, and landgrave of Hesse.

13. Which when they have done, the princes in their name, and in the name of the states confederate will immediately send their ambassadors to the said most noble king, and

amongst them one excellently learned, not only to confer with his royal majesty upon the articles of Crist's doctrine, and the ceremonies, and other things in the church, to be changed, ordered and reformed, but also to comment and conclude with his majesty, in the name of the confederates, upon all the articles whereof we have spoken[11].

[11] [There are in the State Paper Office two different English translations of this document; one of these was printed by the author in the first edition of this part of the History of the Reformation, and has been accordingly reprinted in every subsequent edition. The other which must be considered the more authentic document is here for the first time printed. The variations, though not much affecting the sense, are very numerous, as may be seen by a comparison of the copy given above with that in any other edition of this Collection of Records. The preference is given to this version; first, because it is attached to 'the answer' given in Number XLV., in the State Paper Office, and secondly and chiefly, because the two answers given in Numbers XLV. and XLVI. are evidently arranged to match this rather than the other copy, the references in both of them being to the thirteen items of which this is composed, and which are made fourteen in the other copy by the division of the tenth into two articles. This has been noticed by the editor of State Papers in a note, p. 639 of vol. vii., where the petition, (the only copy that is which the editor appears to have seen,) is stated to be in the handwriting of sir Ralph Sadleyr.]

## Number XLV. [p. 114.]

106 *The answer of the king's most noble majesty of Englande, to the petitions and articles lately addressed to his highness, from the noble princes, John Frederyke duke of Saxe, elector, &c. and Philip lantsgrave van Hesse, in the names of them, and all their confederates.*

1. The said most noble king answereth, That his majesty will, and hath of long time minded to set forth the evangelic of Criste, and the true sincere doctrine of the same, out of which springeth and floweth our true faith, which to defend he is most ready both with life and goods; but to say, that he being a king reckoned somewhat learned, (though unworthy,) having also so many excellent well learned men within his realm, thinketh it meet to accept at any creature's hand, the observing of his and his realm's faith, the only ground whereof remaineth in scripture, surely he doth not; and requireth his entire friends herewith not to be grieved: but his highness is right well contented, and much desireth, that for unity in faith and articles, to be made upon the same, it would please his said confederates and friends, to send hither some of their best learned men, to confer and conclude, with him and his learned men, to the intent to have a perfect concord and union in faith amongst us. In which his highness doubteth not, but at such time as when their deputies shall come, they shall find the most towardness that may [be] in the king, and in his realm. Paper-Office.

To the second.

2. His highness answereth, That he is content to employ himself, jointly with the said confederates, in all general councils, they being *pii, catholici et liberi, in loco etiam omni parte tuto,* for the defence of the mere and true doctrine of the gospel, according to their desires. But as touching the ceremonies, there may be diversity used in divers dominions, *fere per totum mundum,* that it will be hard to conclude any certainty in them. Wherefore his highness thinketh it meet,

that the order and limitation of them, should be left to the arbitres of the governors of every dominion, supposing that every of them can tell what is most commodious for his own dominions.

To the third.

3. His majesty answereth, That he is contented, that neither his highness, (without the express consent of the said princes and states confederate) nor the same princes and states confederate, (without the express consent of his highness,) shall assent nor agree to any indiction of a general council, or to any general council, which the bishop of Rome that now is, or that hereafter shall be, or any other by whatsoever pretended 107
authority, doth, or shall make, enter, presume, or begin, or cause to be made, entered, presumed, or begun, but that they neither shall consent to any place of the future council, nor to the council self, except it be by their mutual consents, assented and agreed unto; provided nevertheless, that if it shall appear certainly by just arguments and reasons both to his majesty, and the said confederates, that a Cristien free council may be indicted, *in loco etiam omni parte tuto*, that then that council shall not be by him, or them, refused.

4. } The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, his highness is
5. } content to accept in every point, according to their own
6. } devices.

To the seventh.

7. His grace answereth, that he doth most thankfully accept their good overture therein, by the which they declare their good inclination and hearty good will toward his highness; nevertheless, his majesty desireth them to take in good part, that he doth not accept the said name and place, till he be thoroughly agreed with them upon the articles before rehearsed; which once agreed on, his highness intendeth most thankfully to accept the same.

8. The eighth article, his majesty is content to accept according to their own desire.

To the ninth.

9. Also his highness agreeth, that so they will add thereunto, that in that case of war, neither party shall suffer or per-

mit any of their subjects, or servants, to serve them, that in such wise shall by any war molest any of them.

To the tenth.

10. His majesty answereth, That for the wars already by past, he being in no confederation with them, thinketh it very strange, and somewhat unreasonable, that they should of his highness require any aid or assistance; but in case that this confederation now spoken of do take effect, and that the continuance of wars seem to be necessary, by their mutual consents, for supporting of the faith against their adversaries and invasors; the confederates being also bound to contribute for their parts, every man for his portion as shall be thought necessary amongst us; his highness will be content for his part, in declaration of his loving heart to them, to contribute a hundred thousand crowns, the time, place, and fashion, for the employment of the same, once between his grace and them agreed on: provided that in case be that either there shall be no war made to any of the parts for the same; or that it shall be sooner ended than shall be looked for, that then the whole, or that part left and remaining, shall be fully and truly *bonâ fide* restored unto his highness, whensoever he shall demand or require the same.

11. The eleventh, his majesty doth accept according to their own offer.

12. The twelfth, his highness also agreeth unto.

13. To the thirteenth, (*Two lines torn out*) His seeing he hath so agreed unto the most part of the articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all speed and diligence, send hither their ambassadors plenarily
108 instructed to commune, agree, and conclude with his majesty in all things that shall be communed of, and treated betwixt his highness and them.

## Number XLVI.[12] [p. 115.]

*The answer of the king's ambassadors, made to the duke Saxe, and the landgrave of Hessie.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 298.

First, that his highness, as well by his ambassadors, as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things; the one is their gratitude and benevolence towards his majesty, and that they desire the continuance between their progenitors inviolably observed to be increased: the other is not only their great constancy in the setting forth of the truth of the gospel that was darkened afore, but also that they exhort his grace to the defence of the same, which be most acceptable to his highness, and thanketh them as well for his behalf, as also for the behalf of all Christendom, knowledging the great benefit of God, in giving the said princes such stedfastness and strength; and that his majesty willed to be shewed unto them that their wondrous virtues have so ravished and drawn his mind to their love, that his highness felt a great increase to their amitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to pass the occasion, without correspondence of love, nor any occasion, that he shall think may conduce in any wise to their good minds, and godly proceedings, and for to declare his mind to the articles of your petition.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th articles do please his majesty well enough; and although there be some things in them, that his grace would grant easily to no

[12] [There is an important paper which the author has omitted here. In the text of the first part, p. 196, he has alluded to Gardiner's advice to the king, dissuading him from joining the league. The letter has been published in Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. Appendix, p. 159. It is evident from the allusion in it to the 'death of the dowager,' that it exercised some influence as to the terms of the king's answer. Gardiner's opinion is also printed in the Records of Collier's History, vol. ii. Number xxxv. p. 25.]

manner princes, were they never so great; yet nevertheless his highness for his affection towards them, thinking that they mean nothing else but the reformation of the church, which his majesty for his part desireth much, and desireth to join with them in the same; in these articles his majesty desireth that only the 3rd and 4th article be more amply declared, that is to say,

The 3rd article by these words, *Item*, that neither the king's highness without the assent of the princes and estates confederate, nor they without his grace's assent shall agree to the indiction of any council, that the bishop of Rome, that now is, or any other whatsoever authority he pretend: and that also neither of the said parties shall agree upon the place of a council to be had, without the agreement of the other expressly to be given, but that the same be done by the mutual assent of his grace, the said princes and estates. Provided nevertheless, that if all they shall perceive a lawful and Christian free council to be indicted in some sure and indifferent place, that then neither of both parties shall refuse the said council.

109 To the 9th article his highness would have added, that neither of both parties shall permit any of their servants, or subjects, to be in solde[13] against the other part, nor to help directly, or indirectly, such as would invade, or enterprise against them.

As to the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 10th articles, his grace answered,

To the 10th his majesty sayeth, that he doubteth not but the said confederates do well think and know, that his grace is moved in his mind by no manner private necessity, that he or his realm have, nor for any private profit to join with the said confederates in league of defence, for he and his realm is in good peace: and knoweth not that the bishop of Rome, the emperor, or any other prince picketh any quarrel with him, and much less war; and although his grace feared some hostility of them, nevertheless by the death of a woman, all calumnies be extincted; and to the intent the confederates might know his grace's good affection towards them, and to the reformation of the church, and abolition of abuses, his [fol. 299.] grace signifieth unto them, that he will in no wise refuse their

[13] [This is printed exactly as it stands in the MS. Strype printed the word *infold*.]

petition, but willingly contribute for his part a hundred thousand crowns for the defence of the league, in case that the confederation between the said confederates and his grace to be made, shall be brought to any effect. And for other appendances of this article, as touch sufficient surety, *Item*, that the half of the money by them contributed should be spent, or ever they touched his grace's money: *Item* concerning the form and manner to deposit and spend the same. *Item* to make his highness privy of the sum, that on their behalf shall be contributed, and of the necessity whereabouts it should be spent; and that all things may be done by common advice and assent, because the same do require long treaty; therefore his grace referreth the same to his orators, and to such of theirs, as by the 13th article they desire to send, his grace desireth the said princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and authority to treat with his highness, not doubting but they shall have reasonable and friendly answer.

To the 1st, 2nd, and 7th articles, his majesty hath very acceptable and agreeable, the honour they have thought to defer unto him, as above all princes, to call him to be protector and defensor of your religion, which is a declaration of the certain benevolence and trust that they have in his majesty; and although his majesty knoweth what envy and danger followeth such title, yet nevertheless his highness is so desirous to do them pleasure, and to the glory of the gospel, his grace is content to accept the same honour, after that between his and their orators, agreement shall be had upon the 1st, and 2nd articles, for it should not be sure nor honourable for his majesty, before they shall be with his grace agreed upon certain concord of doctrines, to take such a province upon his highness; and forasmuch as his majesty desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs, but seen that it cannot be, unless certain things in their confession and apology, should by their familiar conferences mitigate, his grace therefore would the orators and some excellent learned men with them should be sent hither, to confer, talk, treat and commune upon the same according to the 13th article. 110

Now that his highness by the same answers sheweth unto them his good heart, trusting that they will be of correspond-

ence, thereunto his majesty desireth three things of them of no great cost nor difficulty.

First, That in case any king, prince, or other, would invade his majesty or dominions for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they will furnish him at their expences, five hundred horsemen armed of all pieces, or ten ships well arrayed for the war, to serve his majesty by the space of four whole months by land or by sea; and that it shall be at his grace's choice to have horsemen, or ships, and that such as his grace shall choose shall be sent to him within a month after the requisition thereof.

Second, That besides the same, that they shall retain at his majesty's costs and charges, such number of horsemen and [fol. 300.] footmen, as his highness shall require; so that the horsemen pass not the number of two thousand, and the footmen the number of five thousand; or for the said footmen, twelve ships in good order furnished with men, harness, ordnance, victuals, and other things necessary; and that the king's majesty may hire them, and retain at his wages as long as it shall please his grace; and that it shall be at his majesty's choice to have the said twelve ships, or the said number of horsemen and footmen, and that such as his majesty shall choose, may be ready within two months after his requisition.

Third, That the said confederates will take upon them in all councils hereafter, and every where else to promote and defend the opinion of the reverend fathers, Dr. Martyn, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melanchton, in the cause of his grace's marriage[14].

[14] [This document has been printed in Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. Number 66. p. 161, from the same MS. The expression in p. 109, 'the death of a woman,' he rightly refers to Catharine, and not, as the author in the text of the History, to Anne Boleyn. The substance of this answer was read by the bishop of Hereford to the Protestant princes at Wittenberg, March 12, 1536, according to Herbert, who quotes Sleidan for the date. See Sleidan, p. 158.]

## Number XLVII. [p. 116.]

*A letter*[1] *writ to the king by the princes of the Smalcaldic league. An original.*

Cotton lib. Cleop.E.vi. fol. 283.

SERENISSIME REX,

Postquam Romanus pontifex, Paulus Tertius, generalem synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, et inchoandam die vicessimo tertio Maii indixit, misit ad nos invictissimus imperator Carolus Quintus clementissimus dominus noster oratorem suum, ut indictionem illam concilii nobis indicaret, ac peteret ut ad eam synodum vel ipsi veniamus, vel procuratores nostros mittamus.

Etsi autem nos ex animo semper optavimus, ut synodus, 111
rebus deliberatis, emendationem abusuum atque errorum qui diu jam in Ecclesiâ hærent institueret, etiam adversus illos ipsos pontifices et prælatos, quorum partim negligentiâ, partim cupiditatibus, vicia illa in ecclesiam irrepserunt: tamen bulla, in quâ Paulus pontifex concilium indicit, non obscurè testatur, pontificem (cum suis conjunctis) nequaquam passurum esse, ut in synodo, de restituendâ verâ doctrinâ, et corrigendis abusibus atque erroribus, agatur.

Sed quemadmodum ab ipso, et quibusdam suis antecessoribus doctrina, quam confessi sumus, sine ullâ cognitione, aut examinatione generalis, liberæ, et Christianæ synodi, temerè, et cum contumeliâ Evangelii, damnata est; ita ostendit se Paulus pontifex, hæc præjuditia, prætextu synodi confirmaturum esse: et

[1] [For a full account of this letter see Seckendorf, lib. iii. sect. 16, §. LII. p. 147. It was composed by Melancthon, and the printed copy of their protest was sent to fourteen princes and states, with this letter accompanying it, written by the hand of one of the two princes that signed it. The copy sent to the king of England was written, he says, by the elector. But the copy from which this document is printed is written throughout in the same hand, there being no difference in the handwriting of the two signatures. It is, however, as described by the author, an original; the address written in the same hand having been pasted on at the end of the letter, as well as the two seals of the elector and the landgrave, which were appended to it.]

conatur sibi ipsâ receptione bullæ, obligare omnes reges et potentates, ut ipsi quoque assentiantur illis præjudiciis, et omissâ cognitione, se ad piam et Catholicam doctrinam, et in Evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur, extirpandam et armis delendam conjungant.

In hanc indictionem si consensissemus, visi essemus hæc præjuditia confirmare et doctrinam ecclesiarum nostrarum testimonio nostro condemnare. Itaque oratori Cæsariæ Majestatis, verè, et bonâ fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa indictio concilii, iniqua, et pernitiosa ecclesiæ videatur: ac petivimus, ut Cæsariæ Majestati, excusationem nostram justam, et consentaneam juri scripto et naturali, quare in illam indictionem non consenserimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus pontifex, et hi quos habet conjunctos, se excusaturi essent apud Regiam Dignitatem Vestram tanquam pontifex fecerit suum officium, ac ostenderit se voluisse recte consulere Ecclesiæ; nos vero oneraturi invidiâ, quasi communi utilitati deesse velimus.

Quare necessarium nobis visum est, causas, propter quas indictionem illam iniquissimam, et insidiarum ac periculi plenam recusavimus, Regiæ Dignitati Vestræ, et cæteris regibus et principibus significare, ut adversariorum calumniis, et aliorum suspitionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut Regia Dignitas Vestra causas illas vere et integre intelligere possit, rogamus, propter gloriam Christi, ut Regia Dignitas Vestra nostram excusationem, quam publicatam his literis adjecimus, perlegat; quâ in re non solum periculo moveatur multorum in Germaniâ populorum, quibus Regiam Dignitatem Vestram optime velle speramus, sed etiam cogitet, hanc nostram causam ad communem salutem Ecclesiæ pertinere, in quâ cum disciplinam multis in rebus collapsam esse constet, et paulatim receptos esse abusus non dissimulandos, diu multi, magni, et præstantes viri, emendationem optaverunt et flagitârunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin Regia Dignitas Vestra etiam ex animo cupiat Ecclesiæ Christi, quemadmodum Deus hoc offitium præcipue a summis principibus requirit, omni ope, et omnibus viribus consulere. Proinde et communem Ecclesiæ causam, et nos ipsos diligenter commendamus Regiæ Dignitat Vestræ et nostra officia, cum summâ observantiâ, Regiæ

Dignitati Vestræ deferimus. Bene et feliciter valeat Regia Dignitas Vestra.

Datæ 7. cal. April. anno Domini M.D.XXXVII.

Dei benefitio, Joannes Fridericus Dux Saxoniæ, sacri Romani imperii Archimarescallus ac princeps elector, Lantgravius Turingiæ, et Marchio Mysiæ. 112

Et

Philippus Lantgravius Hassiæ, Comes Cattorum Diek, Zygenhaim, et Nidde, suo et aliorum, principum statuum, et civitatum imperii Germanicæ nationis, nomine, puram Evangelii doctrinam profitentium.

Serenissimo principi, domino Henrico ejus nominis Octavo, Britanniæ et Franciæ regi, domino Hiberniæ, et domino cognato, et amico nostro carissimo.

## Number XLVIII. [p. 116.]

*Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, complaining of the ill treatment of the ambassadors from Germany.*

[1538.]

My very singular good lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. Cotton lib. Cleop. E. v. fol. 212. [al. 225.]

And where that the orators of Germany, when they granted to tarry one month, required that we should go forth in their book, and entreat of the abuses, so that the same might be set forth in writing as the other articles are: I have since effectiously moved the Bishops thereto, but they have made me this answer; that they know, that the king's grace hath taken upon himself to answer the said orators in that behalf, and thereof a book is already devised by the king's majesty; and therefore they will not meddle with the abuses, lest they should write therein contrary to that the king shall write. Wherefore they have required me to entreat now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherein they know certainly that the Germanys will not agree with us, except it be in matrimony only.

So that I perceive, that the bishops seek only an occasion to break the concord; assuring your lordship, that nothing shall be done, unless the king's grace's special commandment be unto us therein directed. For they manifestly see, that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they would in no wise grant unto them.

113 Farther, as concerning the orators of Germanye, I am advertised, that they are very evil lodged where they be: for beside the multitude of rats, daily and nightly running in their chambers, which is no small disquietness; the kitchen standeth directly against their parlour, where they daily dine and sup; and by reason thereof, the house savoureth so ill, that it offendeth all men that come into it. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not, but that they will accept your offer most thankfully, albeit I am sure that they will not remove for this time.

And whereas of late I did put your lordship in remembrance, for the suppression of the abbey of Tudberye; now I beseech your lordship, not only that commissioners may be sent unto that house, but also in like wise unto the abbey of Rocester, or Crockesdon; beseeching your lordship to be good lord unto this bearer Frauncis Basset, my servant, for his preferment unto a lease of one of the said houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest man, who at all times shall be able to do the king's grace right good service in those parts, and also be at your lordship's commandment during his life.

Thus Almighty God have your good lordship in his blessed tuition.

At Lambeth, the 23th day of August.

Your own ever assured

T. Cantuarien.

## Number XLIX.[3] [p. 120.]

*The earl of Northumberland's letter to Cromwell, denying any contract, or promise of marriage, between queen Anne and himself. An original.*

MR. SECRETARY,

This shall be to signify unto you, that I perceive by sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is supposed a precontract between the queen and me; whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the duke of Norfolk, and other the king's highness' council learned in the spiritual law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath, and blessed body which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract, or promise of marriage between her and me. Cotton lib. Otho C. x.

114 At Newyngton-Green, the 13th day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the VIIIth.

Your assured,

Northumberland.

[3] [The original of this letter has been destroyed, but there are three independent copies. That printed by Herbert, from the Records, agrees very closely with that given above. It commences, '*I perceive that there is supposed,*' &c., and ends without the address or signature. The only difference is that *mine* is written for *my*, *others* for *other*, and the word *highness'* is omitted. The copy given by Heylyn, p. 266, is more carelessly transcribed, the only difference about which there can be any doubt being, that it is signed *H. Northumberland.*]

## Number L. [p. 122.]

*A letter*[4]*, giving Pace an account of propositions made to king Henry by Charles the Vth.*

Paper-Office.

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit, that on Tuesday last passed, repaired to our manor of Grenewiche unto us[5], the emperor's ambassador here resident, and on his master's behalf, pretending a desire to renew the old amity that[6] hath been between us, testified nevertheless by letters of credence sent from the said emperor to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas Crumwell[7], our principal secretary, which of long[8] season hath been interrupted, made unto us for the advancement of such a renovation, certain overtures[9]. The first was, that he would be a mean to have a reconciliation between us and the bishop of Rome[10]. Another, that we would aid him with some contributions in his intended voyage against the Turk: the third[11], that forasmuch as by a certain league passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in case either of us should be invaded in any of our realms, dominions, or seigniories, which we have in possession, the other should aid him in such form, as in the said league is expressed, at[12] the costs and expenses of the prince requiring the same, and that there is a great

[4] [The whole of this letter has been printed from the original in the Harleian Collection, No. 282. fol. 7. in State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 683–688. What is printed here is only a draft of part of that letter. The other part, which relates to the princess Mary, has been taken no notice of by Burnet. The letter is not addressed to Pace, but to Pate. Lord Herbert and Burnet have fallen into the same error in this point. The original letter is headed thus: 'By the King.'—'Henry R.' The other differences are noted at the foot of the page.]

[5] [*repaired unto us, then being at our manor of Grenewiche,*]

[6] [*which*]

[7] [Cromwell had been made a peer July 9, 1536; and this mention of him would seem to indicate that this letter was written previously; moreover it is dated April 25, an. regni 28, which is 1536. It ought to have been an. regni 29, which began April 22nd 1537, as in the other part of the draft there is distinct allusion to Jane Seymour as queen, and the expectation of the birth of a prince, which is sufficient to fix the date.]

[8] [*secretary, and yet of a long*]

[9] [*certain overtures for the advancement of such a renovation*]

[10] [Here follows a passage about the legitimation of the princess Mary, and then follows, '*the third overture was, that we would aid,*' &c.]

[11] [*The fourth that*]

[12] [*is specified at*]

appearance that the French king will now invade him in the duchy of Millain, we would grant him such aid for his defence against the said French king as in the said league[13] is limited.

To the said[14] mass and substance of his credence, tending to a renovation of amity, ye shall understand our answer was, that albeit the interruption and disturbance thereof hath proceeded wholly on the emperor's behalf, who for our friendship in such wise heretofore shewed unto him, in making him king of Spayn, in making him emperor[15], when the empire was at our disposition, in lending him our money[16], that he may only thank us for the honour he is now advanced unto, hath nevertheless for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the ingratitude he could devise, both in contemning, as it were, a friendship[17], when we have done more for his satisfaction in our proceedings than needed, and in procuring[18] what displea-
115 sure and injury he could against us, at the bishop of Rome's hand, as by credible reports we have known and learned; yet such is our zeal to unity, concord, and quiet[19] amongst Christian princes, and such is our princely nature, that as we can continue our displeasure to no man, if he do once remove the cause thereof[20]: so if he which is a prince of honour, and a personage whom we once chose, and thought worthy for his virtue and qualities[21], to be advanced, will by his express writing, either desire us to put his doings[22] towards us in oblivion, or by the same purge himself, and declare that such things as we have noted unkindness in at his hand, hath[23] been unjustly, and without his desert, imputed unto him, we shall gladly embrace his overture touching this renovation[24]; but we plainly said and offered[25], that seeing we had sustained the injury, we could not be a suitor for the reconciliation, ne treat with his master of such appendants for aids, as be before expressed, or any such like, unless our amities should be first simply, and without all manner of conditions renoveled; which

13 [*same league*] 14 [*said* om.]
15 [*When we made him first king of Spayne, then emperor*]
16 [*and after lent him our money*]
17 [*our friendship*]
18 [*the procuring*]
19 [*quiet and concord*]
20 [*nature and inclination that as no displeasure can remain in our stomach the cause thereof once removed*]
21 [*and qualities*, om.]
22 [*his unkind doings*]
23 [*have*]
24 [*renovation of our amities*]
25 [*affirmed*]

part, if he will first accomplish, he should not need to doubt, but to all his reasonable desires to be made after, he shall have as friendly and reasonable answers, as between friends in the highest degree of friendship can be required.

Touching the bishop of Rome, we declared unto him, that as we have not proceeded upon so slight and slender[24] grounds as we would revoke, alter, or change any piece of our doings; having in all causes made our foundations upon the laws of God, nature, and honesty, and established all our works made upon the same, by the consents of all the states of our realm, in open and high court of parliament, so considering there hath been some mean made unto us by the bishop[25] himself for such a reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it should not be expedient to have it compassed by any other means; ne we could take it in good part, or think that the emperor should earnestly mind a reconciliation, and a renovation of our amities, if for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome our enemy, he should move us to alter any one thing that we have here determined contrary to his purpose and pretended authority.

To his request[26] for aid against the Turke, was answered[27], that we could give[28] no certain resolution, because the affairs of Christendom be not quiet, but in case there may ensue between Christian princes an universal reconciliation, concord, and agreement, we shall not fail in that matter to do for our part that to the office of a Christian prince appertaineth[29]:

Finally to his desire for aid against the Frenche king, we said it should be convenient that our amity should be first renewed, and certainly[30] established, before we should treat of any such appendants; and then being an indifferent friend to both[31], we might frankly travail to conserve peace and unity; or else friendly to stay him that would do wrong; but till[32] such time as that foundation were made, we could neither in this appendant nor any such like make any direct answer[33].

And forasmuch as not only for your instruction, but also for that we be much desirous to know in what part they take our

[24] [*or slender*] [25] [*said bishop*]
[26] [Before "To his request" occurs a long paragraph about the princess.]
[27] [*we answered*]
[28] [*could therein give*]
[29] [*shall appertain*]
[30] [*certainly* om.]
[31] [*both parties*]
[32] [*and that till*]
[33] [*We could not treat of this appendant nor of any such like, or in any of the same make unto him any direct answer.*]

answer there, we thought convenient to advertise you of the premises, our pleasure is, that ye shall as well in your conferences with the emperor, pretending only a general know-
116 ledge of certain of the overtures made by his orators here[34], both maintain our answer to the same, with such reasons as ye can devise for that purpose, and of yourself exhort him not to pretermit this goodly occasion, so graciously begun, commenced, and entered, extolling our princely heart, nature, and courage, with our most gentle inclination, to the satisfaction of our friends' desires, in all reasonable things, whereunto they shall not press us; which kind of constraint doth for[35] most part more hurt in the stay of good purposes, than can be[36] after with repentance when the time is past eftsoons[37] redoubled. As in semblable manner move monsieur Grandevile of yourself, as a personage whom ye repute, addict to the advancement of our honour, to desire the emperor to consider what good may ensue to him, and to the whole state of Christendom, if we may join again in perfect amity; and that it were great pity, and percase greater loss than might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly mean and entree to pass without certain fruit and effect, by the putting to it of such appendants and conditions, as ye know, whatsoever we will after do, at the contemplation of friendship, yet[38] our nature and courage will not bear to be now loaden and charged withal; especially considering that we have suffered the injury; and with these and such like words, as we will that ye shall endeavour yourself of yourself to prick them forward[39] to the renovation of our amity, without adding thereunto any conditions. So ye shall repair to the court and to Grandevil as ye may conveniently, to give them occasion by your being in their eyes, to enter communication with you of these matters; whereby ye shall the better also perceive whereunto they will bend, which our pleasure is, ye shall from time to time signify unto us, as ye may have any certain matter worthy our knowledge[40].

34 [*oratour there*]
35 [*for the*]
36 [*be eftsoons*]
37 [*eftsoons* om.]
38 [*yet* om.]
39 [*and to move them simply to procced to the*]
40 [*Given under our signet at our manor of Grenwiche the 25th of April, the 28th year of our reign.*]

## Number LI. [p. 125.]

*Instructions by cardinal Pole to one he sent to king Henry. An original.*

Cotton lib. Cleop.E.vi. fol. 340. [al. 334.]

[These shall be your instructions, following this same to be shewed to the king's highness.]

INPRIMIS, to declare to his grace mine whole intent and purpose in writing the book; wherein taking my testimony of God, that only seeth the heart of man, was only the manifestation of the truth in that matter, that by master secretary's letters I took as a commandment to shew my sentence herein, which wrote the same to me by his grace's pleasure, that I should by writing declare mine opinion; and this is the very cause I did write; for otherwise, I think I had never set pen to book in so little hope of persuasion, and in such a matter as the time was so likely not to be all the best accepted.

Further to declare after I was once entered into the matter, 117
having sent to me the books of them that have written in the contrary part, wherein I saw the truth marvellously suppressed and cloaked, all colours that could be invented set upon the untrue opinion, seeing beside what acts followed of the same so sore and grievous, both in the sight of God, and judgment of the rest of Christendom, out of that realm, that except those colours were taken away, and the truth purely set forth, with declaration of the inconvenient acts, it might soon turn to the utter doing of his grace both honour afore God and man, and utter destruction, as yet seemeth, of the quietness of the realm; this made me with all both wit and learning that God had given me, to endeavour to express so the truth, and declare the qualities of those acts that followed of the sinister opinion, that I doubt not whosoever read the book that would know the truth, so should never after need to fall into danger, for ignorance of the true sentence.

And this I did with this hope, having this ever fixed in my heart, that howsoever his grace was by perverse persuasion brought from those opinions which were for his honour most to

maintain, that he was brought thereto as God suffereth those that be in his favour, and whom he hath elect to eternal felicity, notwithstanding to fall sometime into offences damnable, to the intent they might better know where they have their true light and safeguard, which cometh of God, and nothing of themself: as it is not unknown that scripture mentioneth both of David and Salamon's falls, which both in conclusion were recovered by the mercy of God again, and Salamon, notwithstanding the gift of wisdom which God had given him, fell so sore, that he was utterly turned from God, and given to idolatry. This I considering in those elect persons of God, and judging verily, though his grace was by God permitted to fall from the true doctrine of Christ, yet as God saved David by those means, to send a prophet unto him to shew him the truth, which as soon as he had heard told him, forthwith fell to repentance, and so was taken to the grace of God again, and recovered to his greater honour than he was in afore his fall; the same trust I had in his grace, which made me put my uttermost study and labour, calling for help of God, to manifest the truth, where I doubt not but God hath heard my prayer, that for knowledge of the true sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly trust, that his grace hearing and assenting, as king David did to the same after his error, shall be recovered by God to higher honour and grace, than ever he was afore God suffered him to fall.

In this declaration of this truth, because not only afore God were great peril, but also in this world present afore man, many sore dangers might happen, in case his grace did remain and continue in his sentence so diverse from the rest of Christen princes; this caused me, calling to my mind what danger might follow both of his people at home, whose minds experience sheweth cannot be quieted with these innovations touching opinions in religion; and also of outward power of those princes
118 to whose honour it is judged to appertain to defend the laws of [fol. 341.] the church, against all other princes or nations that doth impugn them, for these considerations to the intent the danger hereof now not unknown, I have in the same book, sometime in my own person, brought all such reasons whereby justly other the people or outward prince might be instigate against his grace,

following the divers trade from other Chrystan princes that he hath begun. Which reasons and discourses contained in the book vehemently set forth, if they should be read apart without consideration of my final purpose, which by all means intended to set afore his grace's yien, not only the truth of that was to be followed, but the dangers that were most likely to ensue, both at home and abroad, if they were not followed, he shall think by that vehemency and sore reprehension he seeth in the writing, that I am the greatest adversary of his grace's honour that ever any hitherto hath been: but God knoweth my intent, and he that readeth the whole book together shall know the same, how my very purpose and end was to save him from great dishonour and peril both in this world and that to come, which were nothing possible to examine, not knowing what they were, and what were likely to happen to be said or done against his grace: which following all probability the book doth express, and for the better understanding of my both opinion and sentence that I follow in the book, touching the declaration of the truth, and of my utter final purpose in the whole matter, this chiefly I would desire his grace, because of the prolixity thereof, which should be too much for his grace to read himself, that it would please him to appoint some learned and sad man to read over the book, and that done to declare his judgment, bound first with an oath of his fidelity, first to God, and afterwards to his grace to shew his judgment without affection of any part: and if his grace would give this charge to the bishop of Dyrrhum, whom I judge to be the saddest and most grounded in learning, with faithful heart to his grace, above any other that I know, putting the same charge unto him by another; I think his grace should thereby best and most truly be informed; and so when he hath made his relation, afterward his grace may prove other men's judgments as it shall please him.

Furthermore to declare unto his grace how my full purpose and mind was, touching the whole book that never no part thereof should a come abroad in any man's hands, afore his grace had seen it: and to follow in this book the same manner of secretness that I did in the other which I delivered to his grace concerning his matrimony, but by what means in one

part of this book I have been frustrate of my intent; this you may declare by mouth, knowing the whole matter.

Finally, With all humbleness to desire his grace, in the name of his most faithful servant, and most tender of his honour and wealth, that whereas by the judgment of all wise men, God of his mercy and love toward his grace, and for a great warning to return to him, hath detected the iniquity of
119 her, which hath been the original cause and occasion of all these both errors and dangers his grace hath cast himself in, that now his grace will correct himself to take the same, as it is a favourable admonition of God, and to follow their sentences and counsel, which (next unto their conscience toward God) hath had none other cause, but only pure love and fidelity to his honour and wealth, which caused them, against their own private wealth, with great danger beside, ever to dissent from that matrimony; judging ever, as it was most likely, both great dishonour, great dangers and perils, both spiritually and outwardly, to follow thereof.

And now, if God hath manifested the same to the recover of his grace's wealth, always that his grace will accept this warning to return to the unity of his church, in that sentence and mind that the rest of Christiane princes do; wherein I dare be bold to say, if God shew this great benignity and mercy unto him, for to make him return; for surely God's hand it must be; and whensoever it shall be heard, it shall be taken for one of the greatest miracles that hath been shewed this many ages, with the most certain sign of special favour that ever was shewed from God to any prince: then first of all this shall follow, that when as now all Christendome calling for a general council, if it follow, other his grace must with dishonour and damage flee to obey thereunto, or with more danger answer there to such causes as would be laid unto him. If he do return, this first shall follow, by that means that should be found, that no prince Chrysten, whosoever he were, should appear there with more honour than should his grace. And whereas it was for the innovation that he hath made in the church, to be the occasion of ruin of one the fairest member of the church, if God make him turn; the conclusion will be brought to this, that his fall shall be the happiest fall that

was unto the church many years; which may be brought to be a ready and high way to the reformation of the whole, to the more manifestation of the honour of God: so that finally, the end shall be in every man's opinion, that marketh the whole process, that God suffered his grace to fall, to make him rise with more honour, to the greater wealth, not only of his own realm, but of the whole church beside.

Your faithful servant,

R. Pole[41].

[41] [There is no date to these instructions. Strype says, that they were given to the messenger who carried Pole's letter to the king which he has inserted in the Appendix to Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. Number LXXXII. p. 199, from Cleopatra, E. vi. fol. 334, and which was written from Venice, July 15, 1536.]

120 Number LII. [p. 126.]

*A letter to Pole from the bishop of Durham, in his own hand. An original.*

RIGHT honourable, in my humble manner I recommend me unto your mastership, advertising the same that I have received your letter, dated at Venice on Corpus Christi even last; by which I do perceive, that where of late ye sent a book with a letter unto the king's highness, concerning your opinion of the king's title, and the power of the bishop of Rome; and your desire was in your letter, as ye write, that I might see the book, to inform his grace what I thought thereof. And now ye send to me your said letter, to inform me of your meaning and purpose in your said long book, wherein I do perceive, ye fear lest your vehemency have offended. I do signify unto you, that I have both well perused your said letter, to comprise well the effect thereof in every point; and also have perused, with other your said long book, unto the end thereof. Which made me heavy in my heart, both while I was in reading of it, and also much more when I had read it through, seeing the vehemency and eagerness of it in all parts did sore bite; and yet the whole thing ran wide of the truth. For in all your book, your purpose is to bring the king's grace, by penance, home unto the church again, as a man clearly separate from the same already. And his recess from the church, ye prove not otherwise, than by the fame and common opinion of those parts; who be far from the knowledge of the truth of our affairs here, and do conjecture every man as they list (blindly) of things unknown unto them. And in cause of his return, ye promise so to illustrate the king's name, and so to bend your learning thereunto, that all displeasure that may be taken of your said book should be clearly thereby abolished and taken away; and all should redound unto his glory and honour. And to comprise in few words the effect of your said book, it maketh vehemently many plagys, and doth contain little or no salve to hole them. And

Cotton lib. Cleop. E.vi. fol. 385. [al. 375.]

as it seemeth to me, ye were stirred too sore in your spirit in all your writing thereof, and were not quiet in your mind while ye were in doing of it. Would to God ye had rather written to his grace your opinion, briefly comprised secretly in a letter, that he should not have needed to have shewed it to other learned men of his council, than in so long a book to have dilated all things as ye have done, that he must of necessity be constrained to commit it to such trusty persons, as should please his grace to know by them the effect thereof. 121
What jeopardy was it to send so long a book so long a way, containing so displeasant matter, by one man, who might have miscarried or perished in the way, and thereby the book have come (as was likely) to the hands of such as would have published it to the king's slander, and the realm's, and most of all to your own, that should be the author of such a book, made against your prince and country: wherein all the world should repute you to be unkind unto your prince and country, who evermore so had loved you, and brought you up in learning, and ye to spend the same to his reproach. So that surely, whosoever not favouring the king, should have liked the matter, yet must he needs have misliked the author thereof, using his learning against him, in whose defence he ought to have spent both life and learning. But laud be to God that the book came safe unto the king's hands, whereby that jeopardy is past. One thing made me cold at the heart, when I read it in your letter that ye writ, of two quires which be not in your hands to repress. The residue, ye say, ye can make sure not to come abroad; which, if ye follow mine advice, ye shall do forthwith; burning them, for your own honour, and the noble house that ye be come of: that it never come abroad, that ye exercised your style or learning against him, whom ye ought in all points (by your wit and cunning)
[fol. 386.] to defend: and if any faults were found by other, to excuse them by all means, and not to animate them by your pen. And would to God likewise, that ye would endeavour yourself (by all means to you possible) to get again those two quires, and likewise to burn them. For in all your book there is not one quire without bitterness, much more than I would it were. But to return to that thing that I said before, that methought your whole book ran wide of the truth. I shall, by

your patience, if ye be content to hear me as your friend, open unto you what I mean thereby.

Ye presuppose for a ground, the king's grace to be swerved from the unity of Crist's church, and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the church of Englonde, he intendeth to separate his church of Englond from the unity of the whole body of Cristendom; taking upon him the office belonging to spiritual men, grounded in the scripture, of the immediate cure of souls, and attribute to himself that belongeth to priesthood, as to preach and teach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments; and that he doth not know what longeth to a Cristen king's office, and what unto priesthood; wherein surely both you and all other so thinking of him, do err too far. For there is no prince in Cristendom that more regardeth or better knoweth the office and the honour of a Cristen prince, nor that more doth esteem spiritual men that be given to learning and virtue, than he doth: and that ye may boldly (without reproach) avouch to all men affirming the contrary, whatsoever sinistrously conceived opinion any person shall have of him, in those parts, or any other. For, his full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Cristes faith without blot kept and observed in his realm; and not to separate him-
122 self, or his realm, any wise from the unity of Crist's catholic church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same; and to reduce his church of Englond out of all captivity of foreign powers, heretofore usurped therein, into the pristine estate, that all churches of all realms were in at the beginning; and to abolish, and clearly to put away such usurpation, as heretofore in this realm the bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage, and impoverishing of this realm, and the king's subjects of the same. So that no man therein can justly find any fault at the king's so doing, seeing he reduceth all things to that estate, that is conformable to those ancient decrees of the church, which the bishop of Rome (at his creation) solemnly doth profess to observe himself, which be the eight universal councils. Which if ye do read advisedly, and studiously do consider how the church of Christe was stablished by those, and how far of late years

the bishops of Rome have brought this realm and other from those; ye shall manifestly perceive the abuse and diversity betwixt the one and the other. I am sure, at Venice ye may have the said councils in Greek, like as now they be common abroad in Latin, translated even from the beginning. Which if they had been commonly known and read heretofore, the bishop of Rome's power heretofore usurped in many realms, had never so far been advanced, as of late it hath. Would to God ye had been exercised in reading of them, before the sending of your said book, that ye might have known from the beginning, from age to age, the continuance and progress of the catholic church. By which ye should have perceived, that the church of Rome had never of old such a monarchy, as of late it hath usurped. And if ye will say, that those places of the gospel, that ye do allege in your book, do prove it, then must ye grant also, that the council of Nice and other did err, which ordained the contrary. And the apostles also, in their canons, did ordain, that all ordering of priests, consecrating of bishops, and all matters spiritual, should be finished within the diocese, [fol. 387.] or at uttermost within the province where the parties dwelt. Which canons of the apostles, Damascen doth enumerate for holy scriptures. Now it is not like, that the apostles who were preachers of the gospel, would make canons contrary to the gospel; nor that the four first chief councils general would have ordained so as they did, if the gospel, or the scripture, had been to the contrary. And where ye in your book much do stick to common custom of the church, surely after Criste, above a thousand year, the custom was to the contrary, that now is used by the bishop of Rome. And that time, in the primitive church of Chryst, when the blood of Criste and martyrs was yet fresh, the scriptures were best understood, faith most firm, and virtue most pregnant; the customs then used in the church must needs be better than any contrary use since, either by ambition or covetousness, any ways cropen in. And to assure you of my mind what I do think; surely whosoever shall go about, by the primacy of Petyr, which was in preaching the word of God, to establish the worldly authority of the bishop 123
of Rome, which he now claimeth in divers realms, in worldly things for perfect temporal, shall no more couple them to-

gether than light and darkness; but shall improve the thing that he goeth about to prove. If ye would read *Nicolaum Cusa de Concordiâ Catholicâ* in his second book thoroughly, he should greatly open this matter unto you. Wherefore since the king's grace goeth about to reform his realm, and reduce the church of England unto that state that both this realm and all other were in at the beginning of the faith, and many hundred year after; if any prince or realm will not follow him, let them do as they list; he doth nothing but stablisheth such laws as were in the beginning, and such as the bishop of Rome professeth to observe. Wherefore neither the bishop of Rome himself, nor other prince, ought of reason to be miscontent herewith. If I were with you but one day, I would trust to shew you such grounds in this matter, that ye might change your mind, unless ye were totally addicte to the contrary opinion, as I pray God you be not, both for your own sake lest ye should thereby offend the king's grace and for your friends' sake, who should take great discomfort thereof.

One thing yet resteth that I thought convenient to advertise you of wherein I do perceive ye be ignorant; which is this. Ye write in one part of your book, that ye think the hearts of the subjects of this realm greatly offended with abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority in this realm, as if all the people or most part of them took the matter as ye do. Wherein I do assure you ye be deceived. For the people perceive right well what profit cometh to the realm thereby; and that all such money as before issued that way, now is kept within the realm; whereas before all that went that way, which was no small share, but great and excessive, and daily the said issue increased more and more, never returned again, hither any part thereof; which was to the great impoverishing of this realm. So that if at this day the king's grace would go about to renew in his realm the said abolished authority of the bishop of Rome, granting him like profits as he had before through this his realm, I think he should find much more difficulty to bring it about in his parliament, and to induce his people to agree thereunto, than any thing that ever he purposed in his parliament, since his first reign. Wherefore I wished that, as many other things more, to have been out of your book. [fol. 388.] Which might peradventure have engendered some other part

of suspicion in the king's grace's mind toward his subjects, as I trust verily that did not. And where ye do find a fault with me, that I fainted in my heart, and would not die for the bishop of Rome authority; when this matter was first purposed unto me, surely it was no fainting that made me agreeable thereunto; for I never saw the day since I knew the progress and continuance of Crist's church from the beginning, and read such histories ecclesiastical and ordinances from age to age as do manifestly declare the same, that ever I thought to shed one drop of my blood therefore: for sure I am none of them that heretofore have had advantage by that authority, would have lost one penny thereof to have saved my life, nor will not do to save yours, if ye should be in such necessity. Which God for his mercy forbid, and keep you from trust of such succour.

Finally, according to your desire since your book is come 124
unto the king's hands, and he perceiveth the effect of it, I shall help as much as may lie in my little power, that your plain fashion of writing, as of a sharp ghostly father, may be taken in best part according to your letter and desire in that behalf: but at the reverence of Almighty God hinder not yourself in addicting you to the opinion of your book, touching the bishop of Rome's authority; thinking, that as ye see it now in Italy and divers countries, so it was from the beginning, and ought to be by God's law. For the foresaid councils do shew plainly there is in the church of Criste no such monarchy ordained by Christe. And the preeminence of sitting, that was given to the bishop of Rome in the foresaid councils general, which were called all by the emperors of that time, was given to him because he was bishop of Rome, the chief city of the empire, and not for Petyr and Paule sake, which were apostles, and burned in Rome, nor for the gospel-sake; and the second place was given to the patriarch of Constantinople, because that city was called *Nova Roma*, and so was preferred both before Antiochia, where Saincte Petyr was first bishop, and where the name of Cristendom first began; and also before Alexandria, where Saincte Marke, the disciple of Petyr, did preach; and also before Hierusalem, where Crist himself preached, and the whole college of the apostles after him; and *Jacobus frater Domini* was first bishop, which was in the be-

ginning until it was destroyed, called *mater cunctarum ecclesiarum*, which three were sees apostolic. Before all which three sees, and also before Ephesus, where Saincte John Evangelist did write his gospel, and there died, Constantinople was preferred, because it was the second great congregation of Cristen men in the empire, and was called *Nova Roma*. Whereunto those holy councils would never have consented, and namely Calchedonense, wherein were six hundred and thirty bishops of the best learned of all Christendome, if they had [fol. 389.] seen the gospel to the contrary. Moreover, if ye read, as I am sure ye have, Basilium, Nazianzenum, Chrisostomum, Damascenum, ye shall find in them no such monarchy of the bishop of Rome, as he claimeth spoken of nor never mentioned. All which I touch to put you in remembrance of, to the intent that ye searching further in this matter, may perceive the old fathers and councils, not to have known any such thing as now of late is pretended and usurped.

Wherefore I beseech you, not trusting your own self too much herein, to have recourse to those authors that may inform you of the beginning of the church. Considering therewithal of what blood ye be, and of what country. The king's highness hath in his realm men as well learned in divinity as be in other countries, and have sought in this matter, even to the bottom; which think themselves well delivered from the bondage of Rome. And if you should now be against your country to keep them still in captivity, what they will think of you, I report me unto you; what also the king's grace, who hath brought you up, and hath been good and gracious unto you, shall think, but that ye be unkind, to be against him and his realm, who hath been always for you and yours. What discomfort should it be to my lady your mother, in her age to
125 see you swerve from your prince and country in opinion. What discomfort should it be to my lord your brother, to see you of whom he should have comfort, use your learning to his discomfort? What discomfort should it be to all your other friends to see you of obstinate opinion against all your country, you may by your wisdom consider; whom all ye may comfort and chiefly yourself, in conforming you to the truth grounded upon the establishment of the whole church of Christendome since the beginning; and being the supporting of this mon-

archy invented of late days by ambition, whereof the old fathers never heard tell. Saint Gregorie writeth sore against the bishop of Constantinople of his time who went about a like monarchy, affirming none such to be in the church of Christ. Saint Cyprian writeth, *quod omnes apostoli erant paris honoris et potestatis.* Concilium Ephesinum affirmeth the same, which cannot agree with this late found monarchy. At the reverence of God trust not yourself too much herein, but suffer yourself to be persuaded to seek further than ye yet have done. I doubt not but God willing ye shall find the truth in searching further, if ye persuade not yourself that ye have found it already. I beseech you, have in your remembrance, that I wrote before to burn the originals of your too sharp book, and I shall move the king's highness that your book sent to him may be kept secret. And in conforming yourself to the opinion of your country and of the truth, I doubt not but ye shall be accepted of the king's highness as well as ever ye were, and much better because ye shew in your book the entire heart that ye bear him, as his grace by his wisdom can much better consider than I can write unto you.

And that ye may so do I pray the Holy Gost to illuminate you. And if there be pleasure that I may do for you or yours, ye shall be assured to find me ready evermore thereunto: as knoweth Almighty God who have you in his blessed tuition.

From London the 13th day
of July, 1536 [42].

[42] [The author in the text of the History, p. 129, says that Pole wrote no answer to this that he could find. There is a very long answer written August 1, the original of which is in the same volume from which this and the following Record are taken, viz. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 343, and immediately follows Number LI. of this Collection. It is printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, Number LXXXIII. p. 206.]

## Number LIII. [p. 129.]

*An original letter of Pole's to Cromwell, justifying himself.*

*May the 2nd.* 1537.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 355. [al. 349.]

My lord, if afore time it could not be surely and clearly perceived what affection I have ever borne to the king's honour and wealth, which in my whole life never gave the least occasion, why any man should think, but with them that tendered the same most, I might chiefly be numbered: if my deeds
126 were truly and indifferently examined. but howsoever it be, if any deed afore perversely interpretate might raise any scruple to surmise the contrary, surely these letters that I write now, as the time and case requireth, bearing that tenor as in reading you shall know, be sufficient not only to abolish all former doubts, shewing those to be perversely surmised, but to make clear, that a more constant and stable mind in observance of a prince, hath not been found nother in subject nor other persons beside. And the cause hereof is, that there never happened like occasion as this is, that causeth me now to write, whereby my mind might be so well known, while occasion is given of the king's part under this manner, that he procuring against me, by such means to my undoing, as was never heard of the like in Christendome against any, that bare that person that I do at this time. If my mind, after all this remain stable, to procure all things that may be to his honour and wealth, as ever I have professed aforetime, what can be more surer token of a deep and a profound grounded love and affection? Whether I do so I shall afterward shew you. If I declare first to him that knoweth it best, the king's act against me, to the intent you may know, if I after that remain in my old estate of observance, it is not for ignorance that I know not what is machinate against me. And surely, though I knew afore both by your letters and other in what displeasure the king had me, without the least cause shewed of my part; I take God and my conscience to judge, which thing, if I had borne but a mean affection might a been sufficient to alienate

also my mind from thence, where I saw whatsoever I did for the best to be ever accepted in the worst part.

But this I will not have now take for any proof of my mind, but to proceed of the king's displeasure toward me. The less I knew the cause to be, the further I was from all imagination to suspect that his grace should be so incensed against my person; that for to have me in his hands, he would be content to break and violate both God's law and man's, to disturb all commercement between country and country, between man and man. And this I would never a thought: but finding the same to be so in deed, I could not but find withal, how his grace was bent withal to my utter undoing; against the which if I remain in my old purpose to procure his wealth and honour, he that will seek other proofs after this, or will not be content with this declaration of a man's mind, he declareth withal that with no proof he will be content, but will have one his enemy whether he will or no.

And of this mind of the king toward me I had first knowledge at mine arriving in Fraunce. Of the which, to shew you the first motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamed to hear, for the compassion I had to the king's honour, than moved by any indignation, that I coming not only as ambassador, but as legate, in the highest sort of embassage that is
[fol. 356.] used amongst Chrysten princes, a prince of honour should desire of another prince of like honour, *Betray thine ambassador, betray the legate, and give him into my ambassador's* 127
*hands to be brought unto me*[43]. This was the dishonourable request, as I understand, of the king; which (as I said afore) to me surely, regarding my own part I promised you was no great displeasure, but rather (if I shall say truth) I took pleasure herein; and said forthwith to my company, that I never felt myself in full possession to be a cardinal, as when I heard those tidings; whereby it pleased God to send like fortune to me, as it did to those heads of the church, whose persons the cardinals do represent, which was to be persecuted most of them, whose wealth they laboured for most busily. In this case lived the apostles: and the same now being happened to

[43] [See State Papers, vol. v. p. 72, and vol. vii. p. 679, and Nott's Surrey and Wyatt, vol. ii. pp. 311–524.]

me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially considering hereby I had the better occasion to declare and justify my mind more than ever I had afore, which was ever my mind.

But touching the thing, if we had no other religion, but lived as pagans and infidels, yet *jus gentium* should ever teach us what demand this was; the law of nature alone might declare how abominable it were to grant to such a request, and no less to desire it. This I rehearse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceive, that if there had been but one spark of a mind alienate from the king, this were able to set the same in such a fire, that first considering how all regard of honour was set apart, and the law that maintaineth the commercement between man purposed to be violate, so it might turn to my undoing. First of all of my part, I should abstain from all commercement with that part, other by word, writing, or deed; secondarily, procure by all honest ways, if I would not by dishonest, to repay this malignity, to the uttermost damage I could devise toward them, of whose malign mind toward me I had so great experience.

And yet after all this, first of all, you may see forthwith by writing at this time, I do not abstain from the first act to practise and entreat, with them that hath been authors hereof, and to practise yet to his honour and wealth, which would utterly extinguish both in me; and if I be heard herein, to put the same also in execution. Which thing though I do surely of my own purpose and mind, yet some occasion hereof, how it cometh otherwise I will not deny, nor keep close, which is this; that whereas the bishop of Verona, that was sent of me to the Frenche court, to intimate those affairs, that for the wealth of Chrystendome, the pope had committed unto me, to entreat with his majesty, in his return passing by Abbevylle, where were lodged my lord of Wynchestre and Mr. Bryan; whereas he could not but greatly marvel of this act of the king toward me, my whole legation purposing no other but his honour and wealth: and desiring therefore to confer the same with the ambassadors, for better declaration of the truth of the matters, to be known as they were: my lord of Wyn- [fol. 357.] chestre, and Mr. Bryan, both abstaining for respect from all communication, yet sending unto him their secretary, after the

bishop had in part declared the effect of my legacy, that touched in any part the king, it seemed to be open to both 128
parties, that all the king had done against me, was of the sinister and false reports of other, that by false conjecture of things they knew not, had ill informed the king of my purpose in coming into these parts, which the secretary thought once cleared and declared other by letters or messengers, the king would turn his mind, as his grace saw the deeds to justify themselves. This the bishop of Verona (at his return) shewed me; which I accepted in that part to be true also, that all came of evil information. And that his grace being ascertained of my mind, as it is and ever hath been, it were not impossible in some part to knowledge rather my gratitude, than to machinate any thing contrary. And that it might be so known, for all parts it cannot be but well.

But as I shewed the bishop, by letters I had attempted often the same, but all could not prevail: my messengers I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience of the king. And without one of these ways were found, there could no conclusion be had in these matters, wherein reasoning with him, I asked, if for the love and service that ever he hath borne to the king, and shewed indeed when he was in that place where his service might be in stead to the king, and love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledge of all my affairs and purposes, not only these last, but all since my departing from the realm, whether he could be content (the king's pleasure first known) to acquiet the king's mind in this behalf, by going to his grace, and informing him of the whole; wherein, afore God, he should do a deed most charitable. Wherein also I did allege unto him, for to bind him withal; because after such demonstration of the king's mind made unto me, few men would be content to practise with his grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this cause, I did rehearse the more things to induce him hereunto: and amongst other, this chiefly, the purpose of his coming with me, which (afore God) was this: that the pope, intending by all means of benignity to practise with the king, having the Frenche king so joined in amity with the king, and with his sanctity also; devising for a meet instrument between both. If any person, for this degree newly taken, were not accepted,

the bishop of Verona was thought most meetest, being for his old deserts to both princes, as long as he was in that place where he might do them serviceable pleasure, as it was to be [fol. 358.] thought, grateful to them both, and counted (for his goodness) the best bishop of Italye.

So that all things considered, in matters of the church to entreat with these princes, none was thought like: whereupon the pope bound him to take this journey with me, for this purpose. And this bond, amongst other I rehearsed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the king.

To the which he made answer; if there were none other bond nor respect in this matter but of God, knowing my matters as he doth, and seeing what inconvenients might follow, if they were not at last well accepted, beside the service he hath ever owed to the king, and love toward me, knowing what comfort it might be to all parties, if my true and faithful
129 dealing were well intimate to the king, he would be content at all times the way once found afore, how with commodity he might come to the king's presence, to take this charge upon him.

This, my lord, you may now perceive, that if I had any part that mind, that the king's procuring against me doth shew to be persuaded I have, it could not be possible I could have any confidence to attempt any meddling with his grace under such manner: but because nor my confidence, nor affectionate mind, yet is not taken away, therefore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intent you may intimate the same to his grace. And now you see by a great proof what my mind is, you may also see how all suspicion may not alonely be cleared, many things appeased that peradventure might turn to greater trouble, but also many things be brought to light, to the king's more assured honour and wealth, than any thing is I think thought of hitherto make for the same. For all this I dare promise to follow, if the bishop be heard with that mind, as he is sent, and content for to go.

Other declaration of my mind by letters I intend not to make, than my letters agreeing with my acts sent afore do make testimony; and that the bishop, which is privy to all,

may better declare presently. But this I will say, if I bare in any part that mind, the king's act against me doth shew, his grace is persuaded I should have, surely I would never a done as I have done, in all my acts and processes by letters, made the king and you privy unto them. This I did at my first coming to Rome, and the cause of my legacy now, and the cause of my coming to these parts. Such advices rebels be not wont to give unto those, from whom they rebel, but specially at Rome, being there when the time was troublous for the king in his realm; letting them the sending forth of the censures, which might a caused more trouble; and sending at that time my servant purposely, to offer my service, to procure by all means his honour, wealth, and quietness; animating beside, those that were chief of my nearest kin, to be constant in his service. This rebels be not wont to do. And I know, at Rome, if any man had been premyate to do him service,
[fol. 359.] none could have done more; insomuch that men judged me half a rebel to God and my country, because I would not assent to divers things, that had made little to the king's quietness: but specially, having in my hand those writings, that put forth peradventure, might a caused most trouble of all; these instantly being desired of those, which had in a manner authority to command, and yet ever finding means that they never came into their sight nor hands, and to this hour suppressing the same likewise. If one that had mind of rebellion would do the same, bethink you well: but, as I say, my purpose is not to justify my mind, by these letters, at this time, in more acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such a one as the bishop's, that knoweth them assuredly, I do neither intend hereafter to labour any more herein: afore God, and all men, that will be indifferent judges of the truth, I will not doubt, at all times to justify myself toward the king. I would to God I could so well justify myself afore 130
God and the catholic church, for negligent service in this behalf, because I would not offend the king.

Now I will say no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to put that in the king's mind that may be most to his honour and wealth, with grace to follow the same; and to take from all other such occasion, why they should think, if they serve

the king according to their conscience, they should be constrained to offend the king, and so hereby to separate the one from the other; which surely to no man should be more grief than to me. But God's pleasure be fulfilled above all, to whom now I commit you.

Written at Cambraye, the second day of May.

Your loving friend

R. Card. Legat. [44]

[*Endorsed*,

To my lord privy seal.]

[44] [This letter has also been printed by Strype, but with several errors of copying. The author in the text speaks of this letter as being addressed either to Tunstall or to Cromwell. He had forgotten probably to copy the address, which shews that it was to Cromwell. There are nine other letters belonging to this period, and principally relating to the same subject, which were formerly in the possession of Mr. Collier, but which were transmitted by him to the State Paper Office in 1859. Amongst them are the following by Pole; one from Bisham, dated September 13, but not addressed in answer to a letter of July 15; another, holograph addressed to the king's grace from Venice, May 27; another to Cromwell from Padua, dated October 28; and three others to Cromwell, signed by him as Cardinal and Legate, the first without date, the second from Liege, May 29, 1537; and the last from Rome, February 16.]

## Number LIV. [p. 132.]

*A letter of the abbess of Godstow, complaining of Dr. London.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 228. [al. 271.]

PLEASETH it your honour, with my most humble duty, to be advertised, that where it hath pleased your lordship to be the very mean to the king's majesty, for my preferment, most unworthy to be abbess of this the king's monastery of Godystowe; in the which office, I trust I have done the best in my power to the maintenance of God's true honour, with all truth and obedience to the king's majesty; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in the king's behalf, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give up the house; nor was never minded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandment, or yours; to the which I do, and have ever done, and will submit myself most humbly and obediently; and I trust to God, that I have never offended God's laws, nother the king's, whereby that this poor monastery ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good lord, so it is, that doctor London, which (as your lordship doth well know) was against my promotion, and hath ever since borne me great malice and grudge, like my mortal enemy, is suddenly come unto me, with a great rout with him; and here doth threaten me and my sisters, saying, that he hath the king's commission to suppress the house, spite of my teeth. And when he saw that I was content that he should 131
do all things according to his commission; and shewed him plain, that I would never surrender to his hand, being my ancient enemy; now he begins to intreat me, and to inveigle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I heard tell that any of the king's subjects hath been handled: and here tarrieth and continueth, to my great cost and charge; and will not take my answer, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordship's. Therefore I do most humbly beseech you, to continue my good lord, as you ever have been; and to direct your honourable letters to remove him hence. And whensoever the king's gracious

commandment, or yours, shall come unto me, you shall find me most ready and obedient to follow the same. And notwithstanding that doctor London, like a untrue man, hath informed your lordship, that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall know that the contrary is true. For I have not alienated one halporthe of the goods of this monastery, moveable, or unmoveable, but have rather increased the same; nor never made lease of any farm, or piece of ground belonging to this house; other than hath been in times past always set under convent seal for the wealth of the house. And therefore my very trust is, that I shall find the king as gracious lord unto me, as he is to all other his subjects; seeing I have not offended; and am and will be most obedient to his most gracious commandment at all times; with the grace of Almighty Jesus, who ever preserve you in honour long to endure to his pleasure. Amen.

At Godistow the 5th day of November.

Your most bounden beadswoman

Katherine Bulkeley, Abbess there[45].

[45] [This letter appears also in the Camden Society's volume on the Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 229. Another from Dr. London to Cromwell, dated on the following day, is printed in the same volume, p. 227. And another from the abbess to Cromwell, thanking him for his stopping the proceedings of Dr. London, dated Nov. 26, is printed in Ellis iii. 3, p. 233, from the original in the State Paper Office.]

## Number LV. [p. 132.]

*A letter to Bullinger from one of Maidstone, giving an account of an image, which seems to be the rood of Boxley in Kent.*

*Johannes Hokerus Maydstanensis.*

At Zurich. Ruit hic passim Azzotinus Dagon; Bel ille Babylonicus jam dudum confractus est. Repertus est nuper Cantianorum deus ligneus, pensilis Christus, qui cum ipso Protheo concertare potuisset. Nam et capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, incurvare corpus, adeuntium aversari et recipere 132
preces scitissime noverat. Hic cum monachi suâ causâ caderent, repertus est in eorum templo, plurimo cinctus anathemate, linteis, cereis agricis .... exterisque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus est fucum cordatus vir, Nicolai Partrigii nostri frater; affixum contra parietem è vestigio solvit; apparent artes; apparent imposturæ; mirus ac Polypeus præstigiator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoso corpori ocultæ passim fistulæ, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à mystagogo trahebatur, laminis nihilominus artificiose celantibus. Hinc factum est ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot magno cum quæstu dementarit. Patefactus Meydstanuensibus meis spectaculum primitus dedit, ex summo se culmine confertissimo se ostentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum est. Invisit aulam regis, regem ipsum, novus hospes: nemo salutat vere. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico, barones, duces, marchiones, comites. Adsunt e longinquo, circumstand', intuend' et vidend' penitus. Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares, mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit et renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, strepit vocibus theatrum, volitat super æthera clamor. Rex ipse incertum gavisusne magis sit ob patefactam imposturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebi fuisse impositum. Quid multis opus? res delata est ad conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot

habita est Londini concio, prædicabat è sacrâ cathedrâ episcopus Roffensis; stat ex adverso Danieli Bel Cantianus, summo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò sese aperit, hic denuò coram fabulam scitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, stupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpiter fuisse delusos. Cumque jam incalesceret concionator, et verbum Dei occultè operaretur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt istum lignum truncum in confertissimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diversorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum[46].

[46] [The original of this letter has been unfortunately lost, neither is there any copy preserved in the Simler Collection at Zurich, which seems to shew that it has disappeared from the collection of originals for more than a century. It is the more unfortunate, as there are at least two passages which require correction. The editor cannot find any trace of the writer. The letter was written some time after Feby. 24, 1538, which is the date of the sermon preached by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, at Paul's Cross. See Heylyn, p. 10, and Stow, p. 575. There is also a letter from the same Nicolas Partridge, who is alluded to in the text, addressed to Bullinger from Frankfort, dated April 12, 1538, which gives a similar account of the destruction of this image. See Epp. Tigur. p. 395.]

## Number LVI. [p. 133.]

*A consolatory letter to Henry VIIIth, from the bishop of Durham, after the death of queen Jane.*

Cotton lib. Titus, B. I. fol. 121.

PLEASE it your highness to understand that where now of late it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto his mercy out of this present life, the most blessed and virtuous lady, your grace's most dearest wife the queen's grace, whose soul God pardon, and news thereof sorrowful to all men, came into these parts, surely it cannot well be expressed, how all men of all degrees did greatly lament and mourn the death of that noble lady and princess, taken out of this world by bringing forth of 133
that noble fruit that is sprung of your majesty and her, to the great joy and inestimable comfort of all your subjects, considering withal that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age entering into this world, is by her death left a dear orphan, commencing thereby this miserable and mortal life, not only by weeping and wailing, as the misery of mankind requireth, but also reft in the beginning of his life from the comfort of his most dear mother. And albeit to him by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more cause to mourn, seeing such a virtuous princess who hath shewed so great hopes of much fruit to come of her body, is so suddenly taken from us. But this notwithstanding your majesty whom this chancely most toucheth, must by your high wisdom consider the misery of the mortal life of mankind, which no man born in this world, prince nor poor man, can eschew: seeing it is the sentence of Almighty God, saying in the beginning as well to the woman, *In dolore paries filios tuos;* as to the man, and by him to all his posterity, *Pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.* In which mortal life whosoever is most vexed and troubled, if he take it patiently is more accept to God, and called in the scripture thereby blessed; as it is written in the book of Job, *Beatus homo qui corripitur à Deo; increpationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse vulnerat et medetur, percutit et manus ejus sanabunt.* And it is written in the Epistle of James likewise, *Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ.* And as Saint Paul

says to the Hebrews, It is a sure token that God favoureth them as his children to whom he sendeth adversity, saying, *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. In disciplinâ perseverate, tanquam filiis vobis se offert Deus: quis enim filius quem non corripit pater? quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini et non filii estis.* And albeit the discipline of adversity be full of heaviness for the time, yet it endeth always in joy; as there followeth, *Omnis autem disciplina in præsenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed mœroris, postea autem fructum paratissimum exercitatis per eam reddet justitiæ.* And like as all men more do favour those their servants, that in a long voyage do sustain more adversity, so Almighty God in this life (which all is but a voyage, for as Sainte Paule saith, *Non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus,*) most accepteth those his servants, that so sustain most adversity patiently. And Saint Paule, considering the instability of this world, exhorteth all men to use all things therein as transitory, and not permanent both in prosperity and in adversity; for neither of both doth tarry, but briefly overpasseth; saying, *Tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut qui habent uxores tanquam non habentes sint, et qui flent tanquam non flentes, et qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, et qui emunt tanquam non possidentes, et qui utuntur hoc mundo, tanquam non utantur, præterit enim figura mundi hujus.* Then since prosperity is fugitive, and tarrieth not, let us not trust to it, and since adversity soon overpasseth and abideth
134 not, let us not esteem it, for after it sustained patiently sure we be that joy shall succeed. Consider if it like your majesty how ofttimes since your most noble reign began, God hath sent you divers and many times great flowings of prosperity, and therefore if God sometime do send a drop of adversity, sustain it by your high wisdom, with patient suffering, as I trust assuredly, and doubt not but your highness will; and assured you may be that God for your so doing shall highly requite it far beyond your highness' expectations. Great cities, towns, and regions, all people in them, and princes of the same, oft do sustain adversity because the whole world is alway subject to mutability, and like as after light succeedeth darkness, and after summer cometh winter, so darkness tarrieth not, but light doth follow,

and winter giveth place to the summer again; so that I doubt not but God willing this storm of sorrowful season, shall by your majesty's wisdom after a time overpass, and the summer of joyful gladness shall succeed, not only to your grace's comfort, but to the comfort of all your subjects, much mourning at this time in their hearts with your highness. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your great discomfort a most blessed and virtuous lady, consider what he hath given your highness again to your comfort, and to the rejoice of all us your subjects, our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordained your majesty not only to be father, but also as the time now requireth, to supply the room of a mother also. So that thereby he shall hereafter have double cause to honour your highness. As it is not to be doubted, but God granting him life hereafter he will do. In whom in the mean time, Almighty God of his infinite mercy grant, that your grace putting away all sorrowful pensiveness, may to the comfort of your most noble heart, long rejoice, which shall be also to the high comfort of all the subjects of your grace's realm. And since mourning can in no wise amend the matter, and thanks given to God may sooner overblow this storm; best shall be to conclude with Job, *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* God gave your grace that noble lady, and God hath taken her away as it pleased him. So it is done, laud be given to him: and for to consider also, how Job exhorteth by his example, all men being in like case, to patience, saying, *Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus:* which your highness for your great wisdom and learning can much better consider, than I can advertise the same, unless sorrowfulness for the time put it out of remembrance. Almighty God of his infinite mercy grant your grace spiritual comfort, and putting away all worldly heaviness, ever to rejoice in him, who have your majesty alway in his blessed protection to your heart's desire, with increase of much honour. From your city of York the 13th day of November.

By your most humble subject,
servant and chaplain,
Cuthbert Duresme.

135 Number LVII. [p. 134.]

*Injunctions given by Edward archbishop of York, to be observed within the diocese of York, by all the clergy of the same, and other, whom the said Injunctions do concern.*

You shall first diligently observe all manner of injunctions, given unto you by the king's highness' commandment, and specially concerning the abolition of the papacy, or of the pretended jurisdiction challenged by the bishop of Rome within this realm; and also concerning the confirmation and establishment of the king's highness' title of supreme head over the whole catholic church of Englande, as well spiritual as temporal.

*Item*, Every curate and priest within this diocese, shall have a New Testament, in English or Latin, within forty days next after the publication hereof; and shall daily read two chapters of the same afore noon, and two at afternoon, and that treatably and distinctly; and shall do his best endeavour to understand the same.

*Item*, Every curate shall provide to have the book compiled by the king's highness' commandment, named *The Institution of a Christen Man*, with all convenient speed, as soon as the said book shall come forth by his commandment: and in the same shall daily read two chapters, so that he may be able to declare the same to his parochians.

*Item*, All curates and heads of congregations, religious and not religious, privileged and not privileged, shall, according to the king's highness' commandment and injunctions, every holy day, at matins time, and between matins and lauds, read the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria in English, treatably and distinctly, and cause all their parochians, which cannot already say it in English, young and old, to rehearse every petition by itself, to the end thereof, after them; and in like wise every holy day, at mass, and immediately after the Creed, shall rehearse every article of the Creed by itself, and so shall cause the parochians to rehearse after them, every one by itself, to the end, and likewise every holy day, at even-song between even-song and completory, shall rehearse the Ten Commandments, every one by itself, and so cause his parochians to rehearse after him,

every one by itself, to the end, to the intent that they may learn perfectly all three. And for this purpose, the said curates, and other heads of the congregation, must give warning to their parochians that none of them be absent at such times as any of the said three shall be rehearsed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admitted to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar at Easter, till they can perfectly rehearse them all three by rote: and therefore every 136
ghostly father, according to the king's Injunctions, must every Lent examine their parochians, in time of confession, to know whether they have learned the premises perfectly, or not.

*Item*, All curates must continually call upon their parochians, to provide a book of the holy Bible in English, of the largest form, within forty days next after the publication hereof, that may be chained in some open place in the church, that all men may resort to read in it for their instruction, under the pain of suspension of their churches. And the same to be bought at the charges of the vicar or parson, and parochians, according to the king's Injunctions.

*Item*, All curates must cause one book, comprising the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in English, the Creed and the Ten Commandments in English, to be set upon a table in the church openly, that all men may resort to learn them, at all such times as they will. And this to be done, within twenty days after the publication hereof.

*Item*, No curates, nor other priests of what sort soever they be, shall haunt taverns or alehouses, or open hoistres, other ways than for necessary meals and refections; if they can have none in other places, according to the king's highness' Injunctions; but shall occupy themselves, either in the church, or in their chambers, with reading of holy Scripture, or teaching of children.

*Item*, All curates and priests, being in one church together, shall (if they can so provide) live together at one commons; and not one to be in one place, and another in another place. And shall, in all their behaviours, shew good example, in word, deed, countenance and habit, to the better edifying of the lay people.

*Item*, They shall not be common hunters ne hawkers, ne play at games prohibited, as dice, and cards, and such other.

*Item*, That they shall (according to the king's highness' Injunctions) in no wise discourage any man to read in the English Bible, which is the book of life; but shall comfort them therein: nevertheless exhorting them to enter into the reading thereof, with the spirit of meekness, and purpose to be ghostly edified. And not to be babblers ne praters, arguers ne disputers thereof; ne to presume that they know therein that they know not; but, for their instruction, to resort to such as be better learned than they be, when they find any difficulty therein.

*Item*, All curates and heads of congregations, religious and other, privileged and other, shall every holy day read the gospel, and the epistle of that day out of the English Bible, plainly and distinctly: and they that have such grace, shall make some declaration, other of the one, or of both, (if the time may serve) every holy day.

*Item*, Every curate, resident and hable, shall make four solemn sermons in the year, one every quarter: Not resident, having 5*l.* or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *de claro*, shall find one solemn sermon
137 for the instruction of the people, in the beginning of Lent: having 10*l.* *de claro*, two solemn sermons; one in the beginning of Lent, another at some other time of the year. Having 15*l.* three sermons; one in the beginning of Lent, the other at two convenient times. Having 20*l.* four sermons; one at Lent, the other three, at three convenient times. Having 30*l.* *de claro*, five sermons; one at Lent, and the other four at convenient times. Having 40*l.* six sermons; one in the beginning of Lent, and the other five at convenient times. And as the clear value doth increase, so more sermons.

And yet nevertheless we now monish, under the pain of the law, all parsons and vicars to be resident upon their cures, being within this diocese, afore the feast of Christenmas next; unless they can and do shew, afore that day, a lawful cause, why they may not, or should not do so.

*Item*, That none be admitted to keep cure, nor to say mass in any church of this diocese; unless he be admitted by me, or my officer, having commission from me for the same; and also do shew the letters of his orders.

*Item*, That no man be admitted to preach within this diocese

unless he have authority under the king's seal, or mine, ac-
according to the king's highness' injunctions.

*Item*, All curates and other, having charge of any congregation, must diligently inform their flock, according to the king's highness' Injunctions, that they may in no wise yield worship to any images, lowtinge or bowing down, or kneeling to the said images, ne offering to them any money, or wax light or unlight, or any other thing: for so much, as offering is to be made to God only, and to no creature under God. Nevertheless they may still use lights in the rood loft, and afore the sacrament, and at the sepulture at Easter; according to the king's Injunctions: so that they none use to the honour or worship of any image, ne by the way of offering made, other to any image, or to any saint represented by the same.

*Item*, They must teach their flock, that images be suffered only as books, by which our hearts may be kindled to follow the holy steps and examples of the saints represented by the same; even as saints' lives be written, and must be read in written books, for the same purpose: and that, as we do not worship our book when we have read the saint's life; so likewise, we shall not worship the images, which is as the book to them that cannot read in other books.

*Item*, They must declare to their flock, that although they see the image of the father represented as an old man, yet they may in no wise believe, that the heavenly Father is any man, or that he hath any body or age; but that he is a nature and substance, above all measure passing the capacity and understanding, either of man's wit or angels.

*Item*, All such images, to which any manner of resort is used, by way of peregrenage or offering, they must depose and sequester from all sight of men, and suffer them no more to 138
be set up.

*Item*, They must charge all the fathers and mothers, and heads of households, and godfathers, and godmothers, and schoolmasters, according to the king's highness' Injunctions, to see their children, servants and scholars, well instruct in the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English, and all other things comprised in these Injunctions.

And for that purpose, all curates and heads of congregations, must once in a quarter read these Injunctions, in the church, in the audience of all the people; as well for the remembrance of their own duty, as for their citing the people to know their duty. And we charge and command all curates, and all other of this diocese to whom it shall appertain, to have a copy of these Injunctions, within forty days next following the publication hereof. And when the same shall be imprinted, we charge them to have them so imprinted within six days after the same shall come to their knowledge, under pain of excommunication.

*Item*, They must instruct their parochians, that they nothing please God, but displease him; doing works only in their own will and devotion, by man's tradition, and leaving the works by God commanded, undone.

*Item*, They must instruct their flock, that their confidence for the attaining of everlasting life, must be only in God, and in his grace and mercy, and in the merits and redemption of our Saviour Jesu Christe: and that none of our works, as ours, have any efficacy or virtue to save us, but only have their virtue and efficacy by the grace of God, and merits of Christ's passion.

*Item*, All curates must openly, in the church, teach and instruct the midwives, of the very words and form of baptism; to the intent they may use them perfectly, and none other: in time of need, that is to say that they, naming the child, must say these words; *John*, or *Thomas*, or *Agnes*, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:* and that saying these words, they must cast water upon the child. For which purpose, they must have ready at hand a vessel of clean water.

*Item*, They must often upon the holidays, and specially at times of marriages, warn their parochians, that they in no wise make any privy contract of marriage, but afore two or three sufficient witnesses required to be present for that purpose: and that afore they make any contract, they do their best endeavour, to know whether there be between them any lawful impediment, other by God's law, or any other ecclesiastical yet used, afore they enter to make any contract.

*Item*, That the fathers, and other friends, constrain not

them that be under their correction and governance, to marry against their wills, ne afore they have discretion to consider what the bond of marriage meaneth.

*Item*, All curates and other heads of congregations must never cease to imprint in the hearts of their flock the two commandments which our Saviour calleth the fulness of the law; that is, the love of God above all thing, and the love of thy neighbour as thyself: and likewise the said curates must continually engrave in the hearts of their flock the two precepts of the law of nature; that is, do as thou wouldest be done unto, and do not that thou wouldest not to be done unto thee. 139

*Item*, They must alway employ themselves to maintain charity and peace in our Lord Jesu among their parochians, and to avoid all rancour and dissension among them.

*Item*, That they in nowise keep those days for holy which by our sovereign lord the king upon just consideration be abrogate: ne as much as in them is, suffer of their parochians to keep them as holy, but that they in them be occupied every man in his business, as in other days according to the king's highness' Injunctions.

*Item*, They must instruct their flock, that in those days which be observed and kept for holy days, they must utterly withdraw themselves from all worldly and fleshly business and occupations, and houses of games and plays; specially from all sin; and entirely, and wholly employ themselves to ghostly works, behovable for man's soul: and that therefore taverns, victualling houses, may not these days be used and exercised, and specially in the time of divine service, unless necessity otherwise require for them that travel in journey.

*Item*, All houses of religion, colleges, hospitals, and all other having any benefices appropriated unto them, shall according to the value of their benefices, have in their churches appropried certain sermons every year; as in like ordinance for curates as afore is comprised.

*Item*, All curates and other having benefices appropriated by themselves if they can, or by other preachers once every quarter, must teach and instruct the people of their duty of faithful and loyal obedience to our sovereign lord the king, declaring that they be bounden to yield entire and perfect obedience to his highness by God's law express, under the

pain of damnation everlasting: and that to make any stirring, gathering of people, or commotion, without his express commandment, is to break, not only God's commandment and law, but also all natural and politic order, in which the head governeth the members, and not the members the head, and in which also all the members, as well by nature as by good policy, employ themselves and endanger themselves for the preservation and maintenance of the head.

All which Injunctions by the authority which we have under God, and our sovereign lord the king, we charge all to whom it appertaineth to observe and keep under the pains limited in the same, and under the pains of suspension and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical, and other pains arbitrary, as we shall think convenient and reasonable[47].

[47] [These Injunctions are not to be found in the registers of the archbishop of York, neither has the editor been able to find any printed copy of them.]

## Number LVIII. [p. 135.]

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*Injunctions given by the bishop of Coventre and Lychefelde throughout his diocese.*

To all and singular of the clergy within the diocese of Coventree and Lichefelde, I Rolande, by the grace of God bishop of the said diocese, being commanded thereunto by the king's majesty, give these Injunctions following, for the honour of God, the increase of virtue, and abolishment of ignorance, vice, and vicious living.

First, That ye and every one of you shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and singular the contents of the king's highness' Injunctions, by his grace's commissaries given, in such places as they in times past have visited, and also sent unto you at this time. And that ye and every of you shall provide for copies of the same, to be had before the feast of Lammasse next ensuing.

*Item*, That ye and every of you do instruct and teach your parishioners, the king's majesty to be only the supreme head under Chryst in earth of this his church of Englande, unto whom all potentates and powers of the same own to obey, being thereto obliged and bound by God's word. And that the bishop of Rome, and his predecessors, did ever heretofore usurp upon the kings of this realm, in the using any manner of jurisdiction or authority within the same. And that ye shall exhort every Sunday all your parishioners to the due obedience of our prince and sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of England.

*Item*, That every person or proprietary of any parish church within my diocese, shall on this side the feast of Pentecost next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will, to look and read thereon: and shall not discourage, but earnestly comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the Bible in Latin or English, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may

the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: alway gently and charitably exhorting them to use a sober and a modest haviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense, and that in no wise they stiffly or eagerly contend, or strive with one another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.

*Item*, I decree and ordain that all monasteries, collegiate churches, and all persons to whom any benefices be impropried within my diocese, shall from henceforth four times in the year at the least, that is, one time every quarter, cause
141 one sermon to be preached, purely, sincerely, and according to the true scripture of God, in all such churches where they, or any of them, receive any profits or commodities, upon pain of sequestration of their fruits.

*Item*, I require and exhort you, in our sovereign lord's name, and as his grace's minister, I straitly charge and command you, to declare and publish every Sunday in the pulpit at high mass times, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed in English, distinctly, and in such wise as the people may learn the same. And that four times in the quarter ye declare to your parishioners, the Seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, so as the people thereby may not only learn how to honour God, their prince, and parents; but also how they shall avoid sin and vice, and to live virtuously, following God's laws and his commandments.

*Item*, That ye both in your preachings, secret confessions, and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commanded expressly of God: for the which God shall demand of them a strait reckoning; as the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, and all other works which men do of their own will or devotion, to teach and instruct your parishioners, that they are not to be esteemed, in comparison of the other. And that for the not doing of any wilful works, God will not ask any account.

*Item*, That ye, nor any of you, suffer no friar or other religious man, to have any cure or service within your churches or cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

*Item*, That ye, and every one of you, do your diligence, and endeavour yourselves to your best industries and labour, to instruct and teach as well children as all other your people, both men and women, of that your parish, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, and that ye or any of you do admit no man nor woman to receive the sacrament of the altar, until that ye have heard them recite and declare at the least, the same Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed in English, without book.

*Item*, That ye, and every of you, shall two times in a quarter declare to your parishioners the bande of matrimony, and what great danger it is to all men, that use their bodies, but with such persons as they lawfully may by the law of God; and to exhort in the said times your parishioners, that they make no privy contracts of matrimony, but that they call two honest men at the least to record the same, as they will avoid the extreme pain of the laws used within the king's realm by his grace's authority.

*Item*, Where some froward persons, partly for malice and disdain, neglect their curates, and such as have the cure and charge of their souls, and partly to cloke and hide their lewd and naughty living, as they have used all the year before, use at Lent to go to be confessed to the friars, and such other religious houses; Therefore I will you to declare, and shew to your parishioners that no testimonial, brought from any of them, shall stand in any effect: nor any such persons shall be 142
admitted to God's board, unto they submit themselves to be confessed to their own curates, unless for certain arduate and urgent considerations of conscience, they be, or shall be otherwise lawfully dispensed or licensed withal, either by me or my deputies.

*Item*, Whereas universally reigneth this abominable, detestable, and devilish use and custom, that upon the holy days, in the time of divine service and preaching, that youth and other unthrifts, resorteth to alehouses, and there use unlawful games, blasphemy, drunkenness, with other enormities; so that good people thereat be offended, and no punishment had as yet; Therefore I will and command you to declare to such that keep alehouses or taverns within your parishes, that at such they suffer no more such unlawful and ungodly assem-

blies; nor to receive such persons to bollynge and drinking at such seasons in their houses, under pain of the king's high displeasure, and to be punished for so doing.

*Item,* Ye shall teach and instruct your parishioners, at the least twelve times in the year, the essential manner and form of Christenings in English, and that the midwife may use it in time of necessity: commanding the women, when the time of birth draweth near, to have at all seasons a vessel of clean water for the same purpose.

*Item,* Where I am credibly informed, that certain priests in my diocese go in habit dissimuled more liker of the temporalty than of the clergy, which may and doth minister occasion to such light persons when they come in places, and to persons not known, to be more licentious, both of their communication and acts, to the great slander of the clergy: Therefore from henceforth I charge and command, that in cities, towns, and villages, and in all other places, they wear meet, convenient, and decent apparel, whereby they may be known of the clergy; as they and every one of them will avoid the penalty of the laws.

*Item,* I desire, require, and exhort you and every of you, in the name of God, that he firmly do observe and keep these all and singular mine Injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are priests, having cure or not cure, as well beneficed as not beneficed within my diocese, do get a copy of these Injunctions, to the intent ye may observe, and cause to be observed, the contents of the same.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii impressoris excus. Anno M.D.XXXVIII. cum privilegio.*

## Number LIX. [p. 135.] 143

### INJUNCTIONS GIVEN BY

*the bishop of Salysbury throughout his diocese.*

INJUNCTIONS made by me Nycolas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum, at mine ordinary visitation done in the archdeaconry of Dorset, in the year of our Lord God 1538, and in the 30th year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of Englande and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Yreland, and supreme head here in earth, next under God, of the church of England. All which and singular Injunctions, by the authority given to me of God and the king, I exhort, and also command all parsons, vicars, curates, chantry priests, and other of the clergy whatsoever they be, to observe, keep and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon pain of inobedience, and also of all such laws and statutes as may be laid against them, for breaking or violating of the same at any time hereafter.

First, Whereas beneficed men, having and taking cures of souls at the bishop's hands, do absent themselves from their said cures without licence or counsel of the said bishop, not leaving there able curates to discharge the said cures: I monish all such peremptorily, either to be personally upon their said cures, by Michaelmas next coming, or else to present unto me, or my deputies, such curates, as upon mine examination, shall be abled and admitted to serve and discharge the said cures, in the absence of the said beneficed men. And that neither any French or Irish priest, which cannot perfectly speak the Englysh tongue, serve no cure in this diocese, after the term before specified.

*Item*, That all such having cures, do every Sunday and holyday continually, recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpit, at the high mass time, in the English tongue, both the Epistle and Gospel of the same day (if there be time thereto), or else the one of them at the least; and also to set forth the king's regal power to be supreme head, and highest power, under

God, in earth, of the church and realm of Englande: and to abolish the bishop of Rome's usurped power. And furthermore, to declare openly and distinctly the Ten Commandments, the Articles of our Belief, the Pater-Noster; and finally, bid the beads, according to the king's ordinance, and none otherwise.

*Item*, That every prebendary, or proprietary of any parish-church, whose annual fruits extendeth to 20*l.* shall make, or cause for to be made, four times in the year (that is to say, every quarter), one sermon there. And if the fruits be 15*l.* three sermons; if but 10*l.*, two sermons; and if it be under that, he shall make one sermon at the least, over and besides
144 the giving of distributions, alms, or other comfortable and bodily, or charitable succour among the poor parochians there, according to their appropriations, or rate of their prebends.

*Item*, That ye suffer no man to preach, except he be especially licensed by his ordinary, or else the king's highness' authority: nor that ye permit any friar, or other wearing a religious habit, to have any service in your churches, neither to serve chantry, nor trental, neither any brothered service; and that no priest say two masses upon one day, except Chrystmas day only.

*Item*, That every beneficed man, whose benefice is taxed at ten pound, or above, have (before Whitsunday next) the Holy Bible; and all other priests, beneficed or not beneficed, at the least have the New Testament, both in Latin and in English; and that every one of them read over and study every day one chapter at the least, by order as they stand in the book unto the end, conferring the Englishe and Latyn together. And if, by occasion of a lawful let, it be undone one day, be it supplied with two chapters the next day, &c. So that one day with another he fail not to study one chapter.

*Item*, That every one of you procure diligently before Michaelmas next, to have copies of the king's Injunctions made in his last visitation; and then to keep and observe them effectually, upon pain therein mentioned.

*Item*, That every one having cure of souls, parson, vicar, or curate, admitted, do perfectly can without the book the two whole Gospels of Matheu and Johun, and the Epistles of Paule to the Romayns, Corinthians, Galathians, and other as they stand,

with the Actes of the Apostles, and the Canonical Pistles, after the Rate; to can every fortnight one chapter without the book, and the same to keep still in memory; over and besides, to read and study every day one chapter within the book, as is above expressed. And that the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy be openly read in the church every quarter, instead of the general sentence.

*Item*, That every curate, the first Sunday of every month in the year, do openly (in the pulpit) exhort and charge his parochians, in no wise to make any privy or secret contract of matrimony; but that they utterly defer it, until such time as they may have two or three honest men to hear and record the words and manner of their contract, as they will avoid the extreme pain of the law, if they do the contrary.

*Item*, That none of you discourage any lay person from reading of holy scripture, but rather animate and encourage them thereto; so that it be done of them without bragging or arrogancy, but only to learn thereby to live virtuously, following the laws of God, and giving good examples and wholesome counsel to other that be ignorant.

*Item*, That not only such as have cure of souls, but also chantry priests, do henceforth their true diligence to instruct and teach children, until they can read Englyshe; taking moderately, for their labours, of their friends that be able to pay, which shall so put them to learning.

*Item*, That young people be taught their Pater Noster, 145
Creed, and Ten Commandments in Englyshe; so that none of them be admitted to receive the sacrament of the altar, until he or she can and do perfectly say and rehearse in Englyshe unto the curate, the Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments, distinctly, wheresoever they be shriven, either at their parish church or elsewhere. And in case any of them be obstinate to do as is aforesaid, let them be detect immediately after Ester unto their ordinary.

*Item*, That preaching be not left off for any other manner of observances in the church, as processions, or exequies of the dead.

*Item*, That at your preaching time ye diligently see that your parochians be present, and take heed thereunto; and that none presume to be at alehouse, tavern, or elsewhere,

at the preaching time, but only at the church, attentively hearing, as becometh good christian people. And if any be disobedient, let them be first warned to amend; and afterward, if they amend not, detect them to their ordinary.

*Item,* That ye suffer no night-watches in your churches or chapels; neither decking of images with gold, silver, clothes, lights, or herbs; nor the people kneel to them, nor worship them, nor offer candles, oats, cake-bread, cheese, wool, or any such other things to them: but he shall instruct and teach them how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to behold, or look upon them, as one looketh upon a book; whereby men's minds be stirred and kindled sometimes to virtue and constancy, in faith and love towards God, and sometimes to lament for their sins or offences. For otherwise there might be peril of idolatry, especially of ignorant lay-people, if they either in heart or outward gesture worship them, or give honour to them, which ought only to be given to God, the Lord of all saints.

*Item,* Ye shall instruct your parochians not to be envious about works invented by their own foolish devotion; as, to go about in idle pilgrimage, and say with vain confidence this prayer and that prayer, with other superstitious observations, in fastings, praying, and keeping of old foolish customs, which be not found commanded or counselled in any part of holy scripture. But ye shall instruct them, and exhort them, to know and do all such things as be commanded or commended in the holy scripture to be done; that is to say, to know and believe all the articles of our faith, contained in the Creed, to keep inviolably the Ten Commandments, to perform the works of mercy, after every man's power and ability, to be in love and charity each with other, and one to bear with another in his weakness or infirmity, and not to be vengeable for any offence.

*Item,* That every curate do at all times his best diligence to reduce such as be at discord, to peace, love, and charity, and one to forgive another, how often soever they be offended.

146 *Item,* That every curate, not only in his preachings, but also at all other times necessary, do persuade, exhort, and warn the people, whatsoever they be, to beware of swearing, and blasphemy of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's precious body or blood. And also to beware and abstain from cursing or banning, chiding, scolding, backbiting, slandering,

lying; and from adultery, fornication, gluttony, drunkenship, sorcery, witchcraft: and if they be notoriously faulty in any of these, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in example of other.

*Item*, That every curate instruct his parochians, and especially the midwives, the essential manner and form how to christen a child in time of need; commanding the women, when the time of birth draweth near, to have a vessel of clean water ready for the same purpose: charging also the said midwives, to beware that they cause not the woman, being in travail, to make any foolish vow to go in pilgrimage to this image or that image after her deliverance, but only to call on God for help. Nor to use any girdles, purses, measures of our Lady, or such other superstitious things, to be occupied about the woman while she laboureth, to make her believe to have the better speed by it.

*Item*, That none of you do magnify and extol, praise, maintain, or otherwise set forth, the superfluous holidays abrogated by the king with the advice of his ecclesiastical convocation.

And finally, Forasmuch as all Christen men ought earnestly to covet and desire their souls' health, and the very mean thereof is to obtain the true knowledge of God's word, which is the feeding of the soul: I exhort, desire, and, as much as I may, I require, that in every honest parish church within my diocese of Sarum, either of their church box, or of stocks given for maintaining of lights before images, (with the which I dispense for this better use,) or else by way of collection among themselves, there be ordained and bought an English Bible before Whit Sunday next, to be chained to a desk in the body of the church; where he that is lettered may read, and other unlearned may hear wholesome doctrine and comfort to their souls, and avoid idleness and other inconveniences, whereunto the frail disposition of man is soon inclined.

Forasmuch as intolerable superstition, and also abominable idolatry, have no small time been used in this my diocese, by the occasion of such things as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people, under the name of holy relics, being in very deed vain things, as I myself of certain, which be already come to mine hands, have perfect knowledge: namely, of stinking boots, mucky combs, ragged rochets, rotten girdles, pyld purses, great bullocks' horns, locks of hair, and

filthy rags, gobbetts of wood, under the name of parcels of the holy cross, and such pelfrie, beyond estimation; over and besides the shameful abuse of such as peradventure be true relics indeed, whereof nevertheless certain proof is none, but only that so they have been taken, judged, and esteemed, yea and so
147 called without monuments had of them in any authentic form of writing. Therefore in remedy hereof, I heartily pray you all and singular my said brethren of the clergy in my said diocese; and nevertheless by the authority that I have under God and the king's highness, and in their names, I command you, and every of you, that you send all such your relics (as they be called) one and other unto me at mine house at Ramesbury, or other-where, together with such writings as ye have of the same, to the intent that I and my council may explore and try them what they be, and those that be esteemed and judged to be undoubtedly true relics, ye shall not fail at convenable time to have again, with certain instruction how they ought to be used; that is to say, as memorials of them whose relics they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did work all that ever they virtuously wrought; and therefore only he ought in them all to be glorified, lauded, and praised; so that he which rejoiceth may in the Lord rejoice; to whom be all honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

*Item*, That the bell called the Pardon, or Ave Bell, which of long time hath been used to be tolled three times after or before divine service, be not hereafter in any part of my diocese any more tolled.

I exhort, desire, require, and also (as far as I may) command you, all and every of you, to provide you copies of these Injunctions, and firmly to observe and perform them, and every of them as far as they concern you, and that for your wealth and my discharge to God and the king, of whom I have mine authority in this behalf.

God save the king.

*Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, at the sign of the Sonne, by John Byddell, and are to sell at the Close-Yate in Salysbury*[48].

[48] [This document has been collated with the original in the Douce Collection.]

## Number LX. [p. 136.]

*An omission in the Injunctions set forth by Cromwell in the king's name, in the* 1st *volume of the History of the Reformation, Collection of Records,* p. 160.

*This comes in after the line* 30, p. 161.

*Item,* That every parson, or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, shall on this side the feast of St. Petre ad Vincula next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in 148
the quire, for every man that will to read and look thereon; and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know the duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and a modest haviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in nowise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.

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*An omission in Bonner's Injunctions; the lines that are scored here ought to be put* 1st *volume of the History of the Reformation, Collection of Records,* p. 252.

*This comes in* p. 255, line 35.

*Item,* That no parsons, vicars, nor curates, permit or suffer any manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches or chapels, *where the blessed sacrament of the altar is, or any other sacrament ministered, or divine service said or sung; because they be places constitute and ordained to well disposed people for godly prayer, and wholesome consolation And if there*

*be any of your parishioners, or any other person or persons, that will obstinately or violently enforce any such plays, interludes, or games, to be declared, set forth, or played, in your churches or chapels*, contrary to this our forbidding and commandment, that then you, or either of you, in whose churches or chapels any such games, plays, or interludes, shall be so used, shall immediately thereupon make relation of the name of the person or persons so obstinately and disobediently using themselves, unto me, my chancellor, or other my officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and punished according to the laws[33].

[33] [These omissions will be found inserted in their proper places in this edition. They have been suffered to remain here, in order to keep the author's arrangement of Numbers undisturbed.]

## Number LXI. [p 136.] 149

*The petition of Gresham, lord mayor of London, to the king, for the city hospitals.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E.iv. fol. 222.

MOST redoubted, puissant, and noble prince. My most dread, beloved, and natural sovereign lord, I your poor, humble, and most obedient servant, daily considering, and ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous beginnings, and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your person, and majesty royal, to be the elected and chosen vessel of God, by whom not alonely the very and true word of God is and shall be set forth, and according to the truth and verity of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordained, both to redress and reform all crimes, offences, and enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the poor people, being your natural subjects; and farther to foresee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same. Which thing hath, and yet doth encourage me, and also my bounden duty obligeth me, in especial being most unworthy your lieutenant, and mayor of your city royal of London, to inform and advertise your most gracious highness of one thing in especial, for the aid and comfort of the poor sick, blind, aged, and impotent persons being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed, or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sickness. So it is, most gracious lord, that near and within the city of London, be three hospitals, or Spytells, commonly called Seynt Mary's Spytell, Seynt Barthilmewes Spytell, and Seynt Thomas' Spytell, and the New Abbey of Tower-Hill, founded of good devotion by ancient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor, and impotent people, not being able to help themselves, and not to the maintenance of canons, priests, and monks, to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offending every clean person passing by the way, with their filthy and nasty savours.

Wherefore may it please your merciful goodness, inclined to pity and compassion, for the relief of Christ's very images, created to his own similitude, to order by your high authority, as supreme head of this church of England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your mayor of your city of London, and his brethren the aldermen for the time being, shall and may from henceforth have the order, disposition, rule, and governance, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenues appertaining, and belonging to the said hospitals, or any of them, and of the ministers which be or shall be within any of them: and then your grace shall facilie perceive, that where now a small number of canons, priests, and monks be found, for their own profit only, and not for the common utility of the realm, a great number of poor needy, sick, and indigent persons shall be refreshed, maintained, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities, frankly and freely by physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, which shall have stipend and salary only for that purpose; so that all impotent persons, not able to labour, shall be relieved, and all sturdy beggars, not willing to labour, shall be punished: for the which doing, your grace shall not alonely merit highly toward God, but shew yourself to be more charitable to the poor, than your noble progenitor king Edgar, founder of so many monasteries; or king Henry the Third, renewer of Westmynster; or king Edwarde the Third, founder of the New Abbey; or king Henry the Fifth, founder of Syon and Shene; but also shall have the name of conservator, protector, and defender of the poor people, with their continual prayer for your health, wealth, and prosperity long to endure.

Your humble, and most
obedient servant,
Rychard Gresham.

## Number LXII. [p. 138.]

*A part of a proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket* [50].

Cotton lib. Titus B. 1. [fol. 519.]

AND WHEREAS his most royal majesty, heretofore most prudently considering, as well the great and manifold superstitions and abuses which have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many his true simple and unlearned subjects, for lack of the sincere and true explication, and the declaring of the true meaning and understanding of holy scripture, sacramentals, rites, and ceremonies; as also the sundry strifes and contentions, which have and may grow amongst many of his said loving subjects, for lack of the very perfect knowledge of the true intent and meaning of the same; hath divers times most straitly commanded all and singular his archbishops, bishops, and other ministers of the clergy of this his most noble realm, in their sermons and preachings, plainly, purely, sincerely, and with all their possible diligence, to set forth first the glory of God, and truth of his most blessed word; and after, the true meaning and end of the said sacramentals and ceremonies; to the intent that all superstitious abuses and idolatries being 151
avoided, the same sacramentals, rites and ceremonies, might be quietly used, for such only intent and consideration, as they were first instituted and meant; his majesty having knowledge, that this his most godly and most virtuous commandment hath not been executed according to his trust and expectation; therefore straitly eftsones chargeth and commandeth all his said archbishops and bishops of this his realm, not only in their own persons, with more diligence to preach, teach, open and set forth, to his people and loving subjects within their cures, committed to them by his highness for that purpose, as often as they conveniently may, the word of God, sincerely and purely declaring such difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies aforesaid, and the use of them, in such wise, as his people, being under

[50] [This is the concluding part of a proclamation against heretical books.]

their cures by his highness to them committed, may be brought to the true knowledge of their lively faith to God, and obedience to his highness, with their love and charity also to their neighbours: but also his highness straitly chargeth and com- [fol. 520.] mandeth all archdeacons, deans, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, truly and diligently to do the same; and further, in all their said sermons and collations, to stir and exhort the people to charity, love and obedience; and also to read and hear with simplicity, and without any arrogancy, the very gospel and holy scripture, and to conform, by earnest deeds, their minds and wills unto the same; avoiding all manner of contention, strife and occasions thereof, upon pain not only to incur his majesty's indignation, but also for their slackness and negligence in the executing of their cures and charges committed unto them by his highness, to be imprisoned and punished at his majesty's pleasure.

*ITEM*, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, stubbornly to withstand the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highness' most noble progenitor, king HENRY the Second, for the common wealth, rest, and tranquillity of this realm; of his froward mind, fled the realm into Fraunce, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm; and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made: and that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue; and he not only called the one of them bawd, but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook and plucked him in such manner, as he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church; so that upon this fray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain; and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a
152 bearer of the iniquity of the clergy; for these, and for other great and urgent causes, long to recite, the king's majesty, by

the advice of his council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that, notwithstanding the said canonization there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefore his grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint; but bishop Becket, and that his images and pictures, through the whole realm, shall be put down, and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth, the days used to be festival
[fol. 521.] in his name shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collects, and prayers in his name read, but razed and put out of all the books; and that all other festival days already abrogate shall be in no wise solemnized, but his grace's ordinance and Injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past; upon pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.

FINALLY, His majesty willeth, and chargeth all his said loving and obedient subjects, that they and every of them for his part, shall keep and observe all and singular the Injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained, and further to be punished at his grace's pleasure.

GOD SAVE THE KING[51].

*Westm'* 16 *Novembris, anno regni regis Henrici Octavi* 30.

[*Tho. Berthelet regius impressor excudebat CUM PRIVILEGIO.*]

[51] [The above has been corrected from the original on four sheets mounted on three in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House.]

## Number LXIII. [p. 139.]

*An original letter of the king's, much to the same purpose. By the king.*

HENRY R.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 224.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well.

And whereas we, chiefly and principally regarding and tendering the quiet, rest, prosperity and tranquillity of our
153 nobles and commons, and their conservation no less than our own, directed lately our letters unto you, and other justices of our peace throughout this our realm, containing our admonition and gentle warning, to have such special regard to the duties of your offices, according to the trust we have reposed in you, that not only for the importance it is both unto us and our commonwealth, ye should see our dignity of supremacy of our church (wherewith it hath pleased Almighty God, by his most certain and undoubted word, to endow and adorn our authority and crown imperial of this our realm) to be set forth, and impressed in all our subjects' hearts and minds; and to foresee, that the maintainers of the bishop of Rome's usurped and feigned authority, with all his papistical superstitions and abuses, with which he hath in times past abused the multitude of our subjects; of whose yoke, tyranny and scornful illusion, we have, by God's porveyance, delivered this our realm, and other his satellites, which secretly did uphold his faction, should be by you diligently searched, inquired and tried out, and so brought to our justices, to receive condign punishment, according to their demerits; but also that tale-tellers about the countries, and spreaders of rumours, and false inventors of news, to put our people in fear, and to stir them to sedition, should be apprehended and punished, to the terrible example of others. Also, that vagabonds, and valiant beggars, shall be avoided, and have worthy correction: and for the same purpose, to keep watches, and to see common justice with indif-

ference, and without corruption, to be observed and ministered unto all our subjects; like as by the purport and contents of our said letters ye may more amply perceive.

We have been credibly informed, that sundry of you have for a time so well done your duties, and endeavoured yourselves fulfilling our said admonitions, and causing the evil-doers to be punished according to their demerits, that our loving subjects have not been disquieted of a long season, until now of late, that some ungracious, cankered, and malicious persons, have taken boldness to attempt with sundry devilish persuasions, to move and seduce our true subjects; using false lies, and most untrue rumours. And amongst them, we understand, sundry parsons, vicars and curates of this our realm to be chief; which (to bring our people to darkness) of their own perverse mind, not only to blind our commons, do read so confusely, hemming and hacking the word of God, and such our Injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost no man can understand the true meaning of the said Injunctions, and also secretly have suborned certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, which do interpretate and wrest our true meaning and intention of our said Injunctions to an untrue sense. For whereas we have ordained by our said Injunctions, for the avoiding of sundry strifes, processes and contentions, rising upon age, lineal descents, title of inheritance, legitimation, or bastardy, and for knowledge whether any person is our subject born or no: also for sundry other causes, that the names of all children christened from henceforth, with their birth, their fathers' and mothers' names; and likewise all marriages and burials, with the time and date thereof, should be registered from time to 154
time in a book, in every parish church, safely and surely to be kept. They have bruited and blown abroad, most falsely and untruly, that we do intend to make some new exactions, at all christenings, weddings and burials; the which in no wise we ever meant or thought upon; alleging, for to fortify and colour their false and manifest lies, that therein we go about to take away the liberties of our realm; for conservation whereof, they feign, that bishop Beket of Canterbury, which they have tofore called Saint Thomas, died for; where indeed there was never such thing done nor meant in that time

nor sithense: for the said Beket never swarved nor contended with our progenitor, king Henry the Second; but only to let, that those of the clergy should not be punished for their offences, nor justified by the courts and laws of this realm; but only at the bishop's pleasure, and after the decrees of Rome. And the causes why he died were upon a wilful rescue and fray, by him made and begun at Canterbury; which was nevertheless afterward alleged to be for such liberties of the church, which he contended for, during his life, with the archbishop of Yorke; yea, and in case he should be absent, or fugitive out of the realm, the king should not be crowned by any other, but constrained to abide his return.

These, and such other detestable and unlawful liberties, nothing concerning the common weal, but only the party of the clergy, the said Thomas Beket most arrogantly desired and traitorously sued, to have, contrary to the laws of this our realm. To the which most false interpretations, and wresting of our true meaning, they have joined such mischievous lies, and false tales, for marking of catalls, and other like seditious devices, whereupon our people were lately stirred to sedition and insurrection, to their utter ruin and destruction, unless Almighty God, who by his divine providence gave unto us abundance of force, (as he always doth unto rightful princes,) had so with clemency illumined us, that whereas we, with the edge of the sword, and by our laws, might have overthrown and destroyed them, their wives, children, and posterity for ever; we nevertheless, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that time our benign and merciful pardon. Those miserable and papistical superstitious wretches, nothing regarding the same, nor caring what danger and mischief our people should incur, have both raised the said old humours, and forged new seditious tales, intending (as much as in them lieth) a new commotion, and all to satisfy their cankered hearts.

Wherefore, and for the imminent danger to you, and to all our good subjects, and trouble that might ensue, unless good and earnest provision to repress them be taken thereupon: we desire and pray you, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you, that within the precinct and limit of your charge,

ye shall not only endeavour yourselves, and employ your most diligence, to inquire and find out such cankered parsons, vicars and curates, which do not truly and substantially declare our said Injunctions, and the very word of God, but mumble confusely, saying that they be compelled to read them, and bid 155
their parishioners nevertheless to do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers, and that the old fashion is the best, and other crafty seditious parables; but also with your most effectual vigilancy do insearch and try out such seditious tale-tellers, and spreaders abroad of such bruits, tidings, and rumours, touching us in honour, or surety, the state of our realm, or any mutation of the laws or customs thereof, or any other thing which might cause any sedition, and the same with their setters forth, maintainers, counsellors, fautors, and adherents with all diligence to apprehend and commit to ward, or prison, without bail or mainprize till upon evidence to be given against them, at the arrival of our justices in that country, or otherwise upon your advertisement to us, or to our council, to be given our further pleasure known, they may be punished
[fol. 225.] for their seditious demerits according to the law, to the fearful example of all others: employing and endeavouring yourselves thereunto, so earnestly, and with such dexterity as we may have cause to think that ye be the men which above all thing desire the punishment of evil doers and offenders, and that will let for no travail to set forth all things for the common peace, quiet, and tranquillity of this our realm.

And like as the danger is imminent no less to yourselves and your neighbours than to other, so ye of your own mind should procure and see with celerity our injunctions, laws and proclamations, as well touching the sacramentaries and anabaptists, as other, to be set forth to the good instruction, and conservation of our people, and to the confusion of those which would so craftily undermine our common wealth, and at the last destroy both you, and all other our loving subjects, although we should give unto you no such admonition: therefore fail ye not to follow the effect, admonition and commandment, both in our said letters, and in these presents, and to communicate the whole tenour of these, to and with such justices of our peace, your neighbours, and other in that schire, and to

give unto them the true copy thereof, exhorting them like as by these we desire and pray, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye will shew your diligence, towardness, and good inclination to see every thing for his part, put in execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our pleasure, and will deserve our condign thanks.

Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton-Court, the[88] day of December, in the 30th year of your reign.

[88] [The space for the date is left blank in the MS.]

## Number LXIV. [p. 141.] 156

*The design for the endowment of Christ-Church in Canterbury.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E.iv. fol. 301.

| | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| FIRST a provost | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, twelve prebendaries, each of them at 40*l.* by the year | 480 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, six preachers, every of them 20*l.* a year | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a reader of humanity in Greek, by year | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a reader in divinity in Hebrew, by year | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a reader both in divinity and humanity, in Latin, by the year | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a reader of civil | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a reader of physic | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, twenty students in divinity, to be found ten at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, every of them 10*l.* by the year | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, sixty scholars to be taught both grammar and logic in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, every of them 5 marks by the year | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a schoolmaster 20*l.* and an husher 10*l.* by the year | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, eight petty canons to sing in the quire, every of them 10*l.* by the year | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, twelve laymen to sing also, and serve in the quire, every of them 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, ten choristers, every of them 5 marks by the year | 33 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item*, a master of the children | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item*, a gospeler | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item*, an epistler | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item*, two sacristans | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item*, one chief butler, his wages and diet | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item*, one under butler, his wages and diet | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item*, a cater to buy their diet, for his wages, diet, and making of his books | 6 | 13 | 4 |

| | | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Item*, one chief cook, his wages and diet | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| | *Item*, one under cook, his wages and diet | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| | *Item*, two porters | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | *Item*, twelve poor men being old, and serving men, decayed by the wars, or in the king's service, every of them at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| | *Item*, to be distributed yearly in alms | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| 157 | *Item*, for yearly reparations | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| | *Item*, six to be employed yearly, for making and mending of highways | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| | *Item*, a steward of the lands | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| | *Item*, an auditor | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | *Item*, for the provost's expences, in receiving the rents, and surveying the lands, by the year[89] | 6 | 13 | 4 |

[89] [This document has also been printed from the original in the Ecclesiastical History Society's edition of Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. Append. No. XXX.* p. 444.]

## Number LXV. [p. 141.]

*A letter of Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury, to Cromwell, upon the new foundation at Canterbury.*

*An original.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. [E. iv. fol. 302.]

My very singular good lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received your letters, dated the 27th day of November: and therewith a bill concerning the device for the new establishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Canterbury; by which your lordship requireth my advice thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents.

Surely my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allowed 40*l.* apiece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient use: and this is my consideration, for having experience, both in time past, and also in our days, how the said sect of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly cheer, I think it not to be a convenient state, or degree, to be maintained and established: considering first, that commonly a prebendary is neither a learner, nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and preeminence, in the college where they be resident: by means whereof, the younger of their own nature, given more to pleasure, good cheer, and pastime, than to abstinence, study, and learning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebendaries being their heads and rulers. And the state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other virtuous exercise of preaching and teaching. Wherefore if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish

that not only the name of a prebendary were exiled his grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditions of such persons.
158 I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no less purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but forasmuch as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stead of the said prebendaries, were twenty divines at 10*l.* apiece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and forty students in the tongues and sciences and French, to have 10 marks apiece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many readers be there? And surely it were great pity that so many good lectures should be there read in vain: for as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to apply lectures for making of good cheer. And as for your sixty children in grammar, their master and their hussher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammar, than that they may have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditory. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered what a great loss it will be, to have so many good lectures read without profit to any, saving to the six preachers; farther, as concerning the reader of divinity and humanity, it will not agree well, that one man should be a reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinity must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to do as he can to prepare his lecture to be substantially read. And in like manner he that readeth in humanity, had not need to alter his study, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore, in mine opinion, it would be office for two sundry learned men.

Now concerning the dean, and others, to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can hear of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, meet to put into the said college, after my judgment: and then of the whole number, the king's highness may choose the most excellent, assuring

you, my lord, that I know no man more meet for the dean's room in England, than doctor Crome, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his grace daily remembereth all other that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highness' hands. Wherefore if it would please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans, and masters of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides.

And thus, my lord, you have my final advice concerning the premises, which I refer unto the king's grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his highness' pleasure. Sending unto your lordship herewithal the bill again, according to your re- 159
quest. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well.

At Croyden, the 29th day
of November.

Your own ever assured
T. Cantuarien'.

[*To my very singular good lord, my lord privy seal.*]

## Number LXVI. [p. 142.]

*A part of a letter concerning the debates of the six articles in the house of lords.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. v. fol. 129.

And also news here; I assure you, never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well learned and so catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness; which is come to such effect, that we shall have an act of parliament, so spiritual, that I think none shall dare say, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration; nor that a priest may have a wife; nor that it is necessary to receive our Maker *sub utrâque specie*; nor that private masses should not be used as they have be; nor that it is not necessary to have auricular confession.

And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lord of Worcester, Rocester, and saint Davyd's defended the contrary long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with God's learning. Yorke, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlile, have shewed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have be all of one opinion, and my lord chancellor and my lord privy seal, as good as we can devise. My lord of Cant' and all these bishops have given their opinion, and came into us, save Salisburie, who yet continueth a lewd fool. Finally, all England have cause to thank God, and most heartily to rejoice of the king's most godly proceedings.

## Number LXVII.[90] [p. 145.] 16)

*A letter of the visitors sent to examine the abbot of Glastonbury.*

Ex MSS. D. Tanner. TannerMS. [cccxliii. fol. 32.]

PLEASE it your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastonberye on Friday last past, about ten of the clock in the forenoon: and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of his, a mile and somewhat more from the abbey, we, without any delay, went unto the same place; and there, after certain communication, declaring unto him the effect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the truth. And then came with him the same day to the abbey; and there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books: and found in his study secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of the king's majesty, and the lady dowager, which we take to be a great matter, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Bequet in print. But we could not find any letter that was material. And so we proceeded again to his examination, concerning the articles that we re-

[90] [The author in the text of the history observes, that the writers 'do not add the year' to the date of the day of the month which they place at the end of their letter. The true date is 1539; a letter from the same persons dated Sept. 28, which alludes to this letter, and gives a much fuller account of the house and grounds than is given here, is printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 619. The letter was written on Monday, and they had only arrived at Glastonbury on the previous Friday. The second letter, written on the following Sunday, gives an account of the dissolution of the abbey, and speaks of 'the late abbot.' This letter was also followed by another, (printed Ibid. p. 621,) dated from Glastonbury, Oct. 2, announcing that the visitors had, since writing their last letters, 'come to knowledge of divers and sundry treasons committed and done by the abbot of Glastonbury;' an account of which they transmitted to Cromwell with the accusers' names inserted.]

ceived from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his cankered and traitorous heart and mind against the king's majesty and his succession; as by the same answers, signed with his hand, and sent to your lordship by this bearer, more plainly shall appear. And so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence unto the Tower, being but a very weak man, and sickly[91]. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money, three hundred pounds and above; but the certainty of plate, and other stuff there, as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship, so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship, that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot did hide secretly from all such commissioners, as have been there in time past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: whereby we think, that he thought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's majesty. It may please your lordship, to advertise us of the king's pleasure, by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship, it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We would that your lordship did know it, as we do; then we doubt not, but your lordship would judge it a house meet for the king's majesty, and for no man else: which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily, that there shall never come any double hood within that house again. Also this is to advertise your lordship, that there is
161 never a one doctor within that house; but there be three

[91] [See a letter from the Abbot to Cromwell, dated April 7, printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 607, requesting to be excused from attendance at the parliament held April 28th, 1539, on the score of being 'greatly diseased with divers infirmities,' and being unable to ride or walk without very great pain, even with the help of a staff. His proxy was read in the house of lords on the 3rd of May. See also part i. p. 260, for a mistake of the author's as to his being in the house of lords at the time of the passing of the bill for the suppression of the greater monasteries.]

bachelors of divinity, which be but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve your good lordship.

From Glastonberye, the 22nd day of September.

Yours to command,
Richard Pollard.
Thomas Moyle.
Richard Layton.

To the right honourable, and their singular good lord, my lord privy seal, this be delivered.

This agrees with the original, in the possession of
Thom. Tanner[92].

[92] [This letter has been printed in the Camden Society's volume on the Suppression of the Monasteries, p. 255, from Burnet. The account of the execution of the abbot of Glastonbury is given in the same volume, p. 261, from Cleopatra, E. iv. fol. 133, and Ellis, I. ii. p. 98, has printed lord Russell's letter on the same subject from Cleop. E. iv. fol. 99. This letter also appears in the Camden Society's volume.]

## Number LXVIII. [p. 146.]

*Cromwell's letter to the king, when he was committed to the Tower.*

Most gracious king, and most merciful sovereign, your most humble, most obbeysand, and most lamentable servant and prisoner, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majesty, have heard your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller; which was, that I should write to your most excellent highness such things as I thought meet to be written, concerning my most miserable state and condition. For the which your most abundant goodness, benignity and licence, the immortal God, three and one, reward your majesty. Cotton lib. Titus, B. 1. [fol. 267.]

And now, most gracious prince, to the matter. First, Where I have been accused to your majesty of treason, to that I say, I never in all my life thought willingly to do that thing that might or should displease your majesty, and much less to do or say that thing, which of itself is so high and abominable offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveal the truth to your highness. Mine accusers your grace knoweth:
162 God forgive them. For as I ever have had love to your honour, person, life, prosperity, health, wealth, joy and comfort, and also your most dear and most entirely beloved son, the prince his grace, and your proceedings; God so help me in this mine adversity, and confound me, if ever I thought the contrary. What labours, pains, and travails I have taken, according to my most bounden duty, God also knoweth. For if it were in my power, as it is God's, to make your majesty to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth, I would; if it had been, or were in my power, to make you so rich as ye might enrich all men, God help me, as I would do it; if it had been, or were in my power, to make your majesty so puissant, as all the world should be compelled to obey you, Crist he knoweth I would; for so am I of all other most bound; for your majesty hath been the most bountiful prince to me, that

ever was king to his subject: yea, and more like a dear father, your majesty not offended, than a master. Such hath been your most grave and godly counsels towards me at sundry times. In that I have offended I ask you mercy. Should I now for such exceeding goodness, benignity, liberality and bounty, be your traitor, nay then the greatest pains were too little for me. Should any faction, or any affection to any point, make me a traitor to your majesty, then all the devils in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me, if I should once have thought it. Most gracious, sovereign lord, to my remembrance, I never spake with the chancellor of the augmentations and Frogmerton together, at one time. But if I did, I am sure, I spake never of any such matter; and your grace knoweth, what manner of man Throgmerton hath ever been ever towards your grace and your proceedings: and what master chancellor hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can accuse him. What I have been towards him, your majesty right well knoweth. I would to Crist I had obeyed your often most gracious, grave counsels and advertisements, then it had not been with me as now it is. Yet our Lord, if it be his will, can do with me, as he did with Susan, who was falsely accused. Unto the which God, I have only committed my soul; my body and goods at your majesty's pleasure, in whose mercy and pity I do wholly repose me; for other hope than in God and your majesty, I have not. Sir, as to your commonwealth, I have, after my wit, power and knowledge, travailed therein, having had no respect to persons (your majesty only except, and my duty to the same), but that I have done any injustice or wrong wilfully, I trust God shall bear me witness, and the world not able justly to accuse me. And yet I have not done my duty in all things, as I was bound. Wherefore I ask mercy. If I have heard of any combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders of your laws, I have (though not as I should have done) for the most part revealed them, and also caused them to be punished; not of malice, as God shall judge me. Nevertheless, sir, I have meddled in so many matters under your highness, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had will to offend your highness. But hard it is for me, or any other meddling 163

as I have done, to live under your grace, and your laws, but we must daily offend: and where I have offended, I most humbly ask mercy and pardon at your gracious will and pleasure. Amongst other things, most gracious sovereign, master comptroller shewed me, that your grace shewed him that within these fourteen days ye committed a matter of great secresy, which I did reveal contrary to your expectation. Sir, I do remember well the matter, which I never revealed to any creature: but this I did, sir, after your grace had opened the matter first to me in your chamber, and declared your lamentable fate, declaring the things which your highness misliked in the queen; at which time I shewed your grace that she often desired to speak with me, but I durst not: and ye said why should I not, alleging that I might do much good in going to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my mind. I thereupon lacking opportunity, not being a little grieved, spake privily with her lord chamberlain, for the which I ask your grace mercy, desiring him, not naming your grace to him, to find some mean that the queen might be induced to order your grace pleasantly in her behaviour towards you, thinking thereby for[93] have had some faults amended to your majesty's comfort. And after that by general words, the said lord chamberlain, and other of the queen's council being with me in my chamber at Westminster, for licence for the departure of the strange maidens, I then required them to counsel their mistress to use all pleasantness to your highness: the which things undoubtedly were both spoken before your majesty committed the secret matter unto me, only of purpose that she might have been induced to such pleasant and honourable fashions, as might have been to your grace's comfort, which above all things, as God knoweth, I did most covet and desire. But that I opened my mouth to any creature after your majesty committed the secrecy thereof to me, other than only to my lord admiral, which I did by your grace's commandment, which was upon Sunday last in the morning, whom I then found as willing and glad to seek remedy for your comfort and consolation, and saw by him that he did as much lament your highness' fate as ever did man, and was wonderfully grieved to see your highness so troubled, wishing greatly your comfort, for the attaining whereof, he said your

[93] [*to* has been omitted by accident, and was inserted by the author.]

honour salved, he would spend the best blood in his belly, and if I would not do the like, yea, and willingly die, for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receive a thousand deaths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that matter, and if I have offended your majesty therein, prostrate at your majesty's feet, I most lowly ask mercy and pardon of your highness. Sir, there was also laid unto my charge at mine examination, that I had retained contrary to your laws. Sir, what exposition may be made upon retainers, I know not, but this will I say, if ever I retained any man, but such only as were my household servants, but against my will, God confound me. But most gracious sovereign I have been so called on and sued to by them that said they were my friends, that constrained thereunto I received their children and friends, not as retainers, for their fathers and parents did promise to 164
find them, and so took I them, not as retainers, to my great charge, and for none evil, as God best knoweth, interpret to the contrary who will; most humbly beseeching your majesty of pardon, if I have offended therein. Sir, I do knowledge myself to have been a most miserable and wretched sinner; and that I have not towards God and your highness behaved myself as I ought and should have done; for the which mine offences to God, whiles I live I shall continually call for his mercy, and for mine offences to your grace, which God knoweth were never malicious, nor wilful: and that I never thought treason to your highness, your realm, or posterity: so God help me, either in word, or deed. Nevertheless, prostrate at your majesty's[94] in what thing soever I have offended. I appeal to your highness for mercy, grace, pardon, in such wise as shall be your pleasure; beseeching the Almighty Maker, and Redeemer of this world, to send your majesty continual and long health, wealth, and prosperity, with Nestor's years to reign, and your most dear son, the prince's grace, to prosper, reign, and continue long after you: and they that would contrary, short life, shame, and confusion. Written with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful heart, of your most sorrowful subject, and most humble servant, and prisoner, this Saturday at your[95] of London.

Thomas Crumwell.

[94] [*Feet* was supplied in the folio, but does not exist in the manuscript.]
[95] [*Tower* has been omitted by accident.]

## Number LXIX. [p. 153.]

*Questions concerning the sacraments.*

The first question.

[Cotton MSS. E. v. fol. 53.]

WHAT a sacrament is by the scripture?

The second question.

What a sacrament is by the ancient authors?

The third question.

How many sacraments there be by the scripture?

The fourth question.

How many sacraments there be by ancient authors?

165 The fifth question.

Whether this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only? And whether the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors, or not?

The sixth question.

Whether the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine, either of the scripture, or of the old authors, and so to be taught?

The seventh question.

What is found in scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as though the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of? [fol. 54.]

The eighth question.

Whether confirmation, *cum chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in scripture?

The ninth question.

Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?

The tenth question.

Whether bishops or priests were first? And if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?

The eleventh question.

Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?

The twelfth question.

Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

The thirteenth question.

Whether (if it fortuned a prince Christian learned, to conquer 166
certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) it be defended by God's law, that he, and they, should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute priests, or no?

The fourteenth question.

Whether it be forfended by God's law, that (if it so fortuned that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, the sacrament of baptism, and others unministered,) that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

The fifteenth question.

Whether a man be bound by authority of this scripture, (*Quorum remiseritis*) and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no?

The sixteenth question.

Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

The seventeenth question.

Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the scripture, or in any ancient author?

167 ## Number LXX.[93] [p. 153.]

*An answer to the former queries: with some remarks on them, in the king's hand written on the margin: together with some persons' names; but these are not written by the king.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. v. [fol. 36. al. 39.]

1. SCRIPTURE useth the word; but it defineth it not.

Why then should we call them so?

2. In them is found no perfect definition, but a general declaration of the word, as a token of an holy thing.

3. So named only matrimony; in effect more; and at the least seven, as we find the scripture expounded.

4. Authors use the word *sacrament*, to signify any mystery in the Old or New Testament; but specially be noted baptism, eucharist, matrimony, chrism, *impositio manuum, ordo.*

Why these seven to have the name, more than all the rest?

5. The word, because it is general, is attribute to other than the seven; but whether it ought specially to be applied to the seven only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it so as it hath been received.

Then why hath the church so long erred, to take upon them so to name them?

6. The thing of all is found, but not named all sacraments, as afore.

7. The doctrine of scripture is to teach the thing, without numbering or naming the name *sacrament*, saving only in matrimony.

Old authors number not precisely.

8. Scripture speaketh,

(1.) Of baptism manifestly.

(2.) Of the holy communion manifestly.

(3.) Of matrimony manifestly.

(4.) Of absolution manifestly.

(5.) Of bishops, priests and deacons, ordered

Seven articles of the faith not numbered in scripture ne ten commandments, but rather made one, *dilectio.* Seven petitions, seven deadly sins.

Then penance is changed to a new term, viz. absolution. Of penance, I read that without it we cannot be saved after relapse, but not so of absolution: and penance to sinners is com-

[93] [In the volume in the Cotton library, the questions occupy the middle of the page, the answers occupy the right hand side, and the king's remarks the left.]

manded, but absolution, yea in open crimes, is left free to the askers 95.

*per impositionem manuum cum oratione*, expressly.

Laying of hands being an old ceremony of the church 96, is but a small proof of confirmation.

6. Laying of the hands of the bishop after baptism, which is a part of that is done in confirmation, is grounded in scripture.

Then shew where.

7. Unction of the sick, with prayer, is grounded in scripture.

Archbp. Cant., S. David's.

The thing of confirmation is found in scripture; the name *confirmation* is not there.

This answer is not direct, and yet it proveth nother any of the two points to be grounded in scripture.

Of chrisma scripture speaketh not expressly; but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed since the beginning.

9. The calling, naming, appointment, and preferment of one before another, to be bishop or priest, had a necessity to be done in that sort, a prince wanting. The ordering appeareth taught by the Holy Ghost in the scripture, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* 168

10. Bishops, or not after.

11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high powers as his prince Christianed) to order a priest, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione:* and so it hath been from the beginning.

Of other, scriptures speaketh not.

12. *Manuum impositio cum oratione* is required, which is a consecration; so as only appointing is not sufficient.

A reason.

Necessity in things absolutely necessary containeth in it order, law, and authority.

13. It is to be thought, that God in such case assisting the perfection of such an enterprize, would further teach and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he should and might do, more than is yet openly taught by the scripture: which, in that case, were a good warrant to follow. For a secret vocation supplieth, where an open wanteth.

This question is without the compass of scripture.

14. Since the beginning of Christ's church, wherein Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath had a derivation from one to

95 [This word has been erased, and another substituted for it; both are so blotted as to be nearly illegible.]

96 [This word is very doubtful.]

another, *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* How it should begin again of another face, where it faileth by a case, scripture telleth not; ne doctors writ of it, that I have read.

15. Bound ordinarily.

16. They may, being before of their prince authorized to minister.

For open, public, deadly sin.

Of excommunication by others, we read not in the New Testament.

17. The thing is in scripture, and in ancient authors, according whereunto the use should be: how it is indeed used, is a matter of fact, and not of learning.

Against the 15th[97] article, these names are set down:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yorke. | Curwen. | Edgworth. |
| Duresme. | Simon. | Day. |
| Carlisle. | Oglethorp. | Redman. |
| Winchester. | | Robinson. |

And a little below.

| | |
|---|---|
| Canterbury. | Laton. |
| Hereford. | Tresham. |
| Rochester. | Cox. |
| Westminster. | Crayford. |
| S. David's. | |

But these lists are not in the king's hand.

[97] [This is a mistake of the author's. The names do not appear here but as below in p. 170.]

## Number LXXI. [p. 153.] 169

*Answers to these queries.*

Cotton lib. Cleop. E. v. [fol. 38.]

1. SCRIPTURE sheweth not what it is: but useth the word *sacramentum* in Latin for the word *misterium* in Greek.

2. *Sacrament,* by the authors is called, *sacræ rei signum,* or *visibile signaculum, sacrosanctum signaculum, visibile verbum, visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ;* and perfect definition we find none.

3. In scripture, we find no determinate number of sacraments.

4. There be very many in the most general signification; and there is no precise, or determinate number of sacraments in the ancient authors.

Arch. Cant., B. Davys.

5. Not only to the seven; but to many more. We find in the old authors, matrimony, the holy communion, baptism, confirmation, order, penance, and extreme unction. In penance, it is doubted of the name of *sacrament.*

6. As touching the determinate number of seven only, we find neither in the scripture, ne ancient authors, any such doctrine that there should be seven only.

7. Of *baptism,* scripture speaketh, that by it sins be remitted.

Of *eucharistia;* that we be united by it to Christ, and receive thereby spiritual nourishment, to the comfort of our souls, and remission of our sins.

Of *matrimony;* that the act of it is made lawful, and without sin; and grace given, whereby to direct ordinately the lusts and appetites of the flesh.

Of *penance;* that by it we be restored again to the favour of God; from which we did fall by sin.

[fol. 39.] Arch. Cant.

Of *order;* that by it, grace is given to minister

effectually in preaching the word of God, and ministration of the sacraments.

Of *confirmation,* (which is contained in scripture, speaking *de impositione manuum post baptisma,*) it appeareth by scripture, how thereby increase of grace is given. Arch. Cant., B. Davyes.

Of *inunction of the sick*, scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the priests, comfort is given to the sick, and sins be forgiven him. Arch. Cant., B. Davyes. M. Cocks.

8. *Impositionem manuum post baptisma,* which we call confirmation, we read in the scripture: but that it was done *chrismate,* we find not in the scripture expressed. But in the old authors, we find, that *chrisma* hath been used in the said confirmation. Arch. Cant., B. Davyes.

170 9. *Making of bishops* hath two parts; appointment and ordering. Appointment; which the apostles, by necessity, made by common election, and sometime by their own several assignment, could not then be done by Christian princes; because at that time they were not: and now, at these days, appertaineth to Christian princes and rulers. But, in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, as afore the apostles did follow the rule taught by the Holy Ghost, *per manuum impositionem, cum oratione et jejunio.* Archbp. Cant. Where is this distinction? Now, since you confess that the apostles did occupate the one part, which now you confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to you bishops? *Ubi hoc?*

10. Christ made his apostles first, which were of his making both priests and bishops; but whether at one time, some doubt. Arch. Cant., B. Davyes. M. Cockes.

After that, the apostles made both bishops and priests: the names whereof in the scripture be confounded.

11. A bishop having authority of his Christien prince to give orders, may, by his ministry given to him of God in scripture, ordain a priest. And we read not, that any other, not being a bishop, hath, since the beginning of Christes church, ordered a priest. Arch. Cant.

12. Only appointment is not sufficient, but con- Arch. Cant., B. Davyes.

secration, that is to say, imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, is also required. For so the apostles used to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually: and we have not read the contrary.

13. In that necessity, the prince and his learned men should preach and teach the word of God, and baptize. But as for making and constituting priests, the prince shall and may then do as God shall then by inspiration teach him: which God hath promised to do always to his church, in ruling and teaching every necessary knowledge, where any doubt requiring discussion doth arise.

14. The answer to the other question next before, dissolveth this.

Arch. Cant.

15. He that knoweth himself guilty of any secret deadly sins, must, if he will obtain the benefit of absolution ministered by the priest, confess the same secret sins unto him.

Yorke. Eggeworth. Duresme. Daye. Carelil. Redman. Corwen. Robynson. Simon. Winchestre. Ogelthorp.

*Absolution* to be ministered by a priest, if a convenient priest may be had, is necessary.

Cant. Westmestre. Hereford. Layton. Rochestre. Tresham. Davye. Cocks. Crayford.

*Absolution* by a priest is the surest way, if he may be conveniently had.

Arch. Cant., B. Davyes.

16. Bishops and priests authorized by the prince, may excommunicate, by God's law, for public and open crimes: but that other than bishops or priests may excommunicate, we have not read in scripture. Some schoolmen say, that other than priests, or bishops deputed thereunto by the church, may excommunicate; because it is an act *jurisdictionis* and not *ordinis*.

Arch. Cant., B. Davyes.

17. We find it spoken of in scripture, and in old authors.

171 ## Number LXXII. [p. 154.][95]

*The examination of Queen Catharine Howard.*

Being again examined by my lord of Canterbury of contracts and communications of marriage between Deerham and me: I shall here answer faithfully and truly, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment: and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament that I received upon All-hallows-day last past. First, I do say, that Deram hath many times moved unto me the question of matrimony; whereunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confessed: and as for these words, *I promise you, I do love you with all my heart*, I do not remember that ever I spake them. But as concerning the other words, that I should promise him by my faith and troth, that I would never other husband but him, I am sure I never spake them.

Examined what tokens and gifts I gave to Deram, and he to me: I gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. And he gave me a heart's-ease of silk for a new-years-gift, and an old shirt of fine holland or cambrick, that was my lord Thomas' shirt, and my lady did give it him. And more than this, to my remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, saving this summer ten pounds about the beginning of the progress.

[95] [The author does not state where the original of this examination existed. It is not among the numerous papers on the subject in the State Paper Office, and the present editor can only offer a conjecture that it may have been amongst other documents of the sort in the volume Otho C. x. of the Cotton Collection. There is in the State Paper Office, 'the confession of Mary Hall, otherwise called Lassells, taken by W. the earl of Southampton, the 5th of November the 38 year of the reign of King Henry the 8.' There is only one allusion to the subject in the Privy Council Book, and that is on the 13th of November, 1541. It is as follows; 'Alis Rastell alias Wilkes, and Mary Hall alias Mary Lassells, were bound in two several recognisances, upon pain of their lives, to appear at any time upon lawful warning before the Council, as well to affirm such things as they have already confessed, as to answer also to any other thing that may be laid to their charge.' The same volume contains the letter from the Council to Paget, detailing the particulars of the case.]

Examined whether I did give him a small ring of gold upon this condition, that he should never give it away. To my knowledge I never gave him no such ring, but I am assured upon no such condition.

Examined whether the shirt, band, and sleeves were of my own work. They were not of my work; but, as I remember, Clifton's wife of Lambeth wrought them.

And as for the bracelet of silkwork, I never gave him none; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any ruby, I never gave him none to set in ring, nor for other purpose. As for the French fenel, Deram did not give it me, but he said there was a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was very cunning in making all manner of flowers. And I desired him to cause her to make a French fenel for me, and I would pay him again when I had money. And when I was first come into court, I paid him as well for that, as for divers other things, to the value of five or six pound. And truth it is, that I durst not wear the said French fenel, until I had desired my lady Brecrton to say that she gave it me.

As for a small ring with a stone, I never lost none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for velvet and satin for billyments, a cap of velvet with a feather, a quilted cap of sarcenet and money, he did not give me, but at my desire he laid out money for them to be paid again. For all which things I paid him, when I came into 172
the court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted cap, but only the sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the same to a little fellow in my lady's house, as I remember, his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what work he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with Freer's knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man. Nevertheless, when it was made, Deram said, What wife here be Freer's knots for Fraunce.

As for the indenture and obligation of an hundred pound, he left them in my custody, saying, that if he never came again, he gave them clearly unto me. And when I asked him whither he went, he said he would not tell me until his return.

Examined whether I called him husband, and he me wife. I do answer, that there was communication in the house that

we two should marry together; and some of his enemies had envy thereat, wherefore, he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband. And I said I was content. And so after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband. And he used many times to kiss me, and so he did to many other commonly in the house. And, I suppose, that this be true, that at one time when he kissed me very often, some said that were present, *they trowed that he would never have kissed me enough.* Whereto he answered, *Who should let him to kiss his own wife?* Then said one of them, *I trow this matter will come to pass as the common saying is. What is that?* quoth he. *Marry,* said the other, *That Mr. Deram shall have Mrs. Katherine Howard. By St. John,* said Deram, *you may guess twice, and guess worse.* But that I should wink upon him, and say secretly, *What and this should come to my lady's ear?* I suppose verily there was no such thing.

As for carnal knowledge, I confess as I did before, that divers times he hath lien with me, sometime in his doublet and hose, and two or three times naked: but not so naked that he had nothing upon him, for he had always at the least his doublet, and as I do think, his hose also, but I mean naked when his hose were put down. And divers times he would bring wine, strawberries, apples, and other things to make good cheer, after my lady was gone to bed. But that he made any special banquet, that by appointment between him and me, he should tarry after the keys were delivered to my lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did steal the keys myself, nor desired any person to steal them, to that intent and purpose to let in Deram, but for many other causes the doors have been opened, sometime over night, and sometime early in the morning, as well at the request of me, as of other. And sometime Deram hath come in early in the morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my request, nor consent.

And that Wilks and Baskervile should say, what shifts should we make, if my lady should come in suddenly. And I should answer, that he should go into the little gallery. I never said that if my lady came he should go into the gallery, but he hath said so himself, and so he hath done indeed.

As for the communication of my going to the court, I re- 173
member that he said to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the house. And I said again, that he might do as he list. And further communication of that matter, I remember not. But that I should say, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he should never live to say thou hast swerved, or that the tears should trickle down by my cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my company, knew how glad and desirous I was to come to the court.

As for the communication after his coming out of Ireland, is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then asked me, if I should be married to Mr. Culpepper, for so he said he heard reported. Then I made answer, What should you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know.

Katherine Howard.

## Number LXXIII. [p. 155.]

*A letter of sir William Paget's, of his treating with the admiral of France. An original.*

PLEASE it your most excellent majesty to be advertised that the 16th of this present, I received letters from my lords, and others of your majesty's privy council, containing such several conferences as your majesty, and certain of your said council, have had with the French ambassador there sithens my last despatch. And yesterday having the first opportunity to speak with the admiral, I said unto him, that albeit it was likelihood that the king, his master's ambassador there in England, did from time to time advertise them here of the process of the matter now in treaty; yet your majesty reputing him to be a man of honour and singular virtue, and such a one, as with right judgment doth consider the whole state of his master's causes, with the circumstances; and therefore conceiving no little affection towards him, had commanded me to signify unto him, to the intent he might know certainly the plainness of every thing, what communication had now last been had with their ambassador there. For the which, rising from his seat, and making a great and humble reverence; after that he had given thanks unto your majesty, and with two or three great oaths declared
174 his affection towards you; I entered the accomplishment of your majesty's commandment. And when I had declared unto him from point to point at length, and word by word (for it was a lesson meet to be learned without book) as is contained in the said letter, as well the communication had with your council at the first congress, and such kingly and philosophical conference as your majesty had with him yourself; as also the seven points uttered by your majesty's council at their last assembly; and finally, the epilogue of all together pronounced of your said council as of themselves; which he heard all together, not without twenty sighs, and casting up his eyes, for I marked him when he was not ware of it; arousing himself, and giving a great sigh, he said; As for the amity which

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ought to be between our masters, how much I have travailed. and do travail for the confirmation of it, God is my judge; and almost all the world knoweth that I am an English-Frenchman, and that next after my master, I esteem the king your master's finger, more than I do any prince's body in all the world, and would be glad to give all the goods I have in the world, that this matter were through between them: for I perceive by my master he will not live alone, and yet I am sure he will seek no new friendship, nor accept none offered, until the king your master have refused this. As touching this matter, I know they be two princes of such honour, and of wise conduct in all their things; that though this marriage had never been spoken of, they would have continued friends according to their treaties, and this overture was never opened, neither for confirmation, nor for increase of amity between them; for greater cannot be, but marriage and conjunction of blood with blood, doth unite and knit generation to generation, and posterity to posterity; the benefit whereof how great it will be; how many inconveniences may thereby be avoided by process of time; the wisest man may sooner think than be able to express. But, alas, said he, what is two hundred thousand crowns to give in marriage with so great a king's daughter to monsieur Dorleauns. Four hundred, five hundred thousand is nothing to him; monsieur Dorleauns is a prince of great courage: monsieur Dorleauns doth aspire to great things, and
[fol. 2.] such is his fortune, or else I am wonderfully deceived. It will grieve my master much when he shall hear of this base offer, as we have not heard yet from our ambassador; I marvel thereof not a little; nay to tell you plainly, as one friend should tell another, there is far greater offers, if we would hearken unto them, we might have in ready money with the daughter of Portugal, four hundred thousand ducats, with the increase that hath grown of it sithens her father's departure, which will amount to as much and more. At the first breaking of this matter, it was said the man must desire the woman; now that we have desired her, you will give nothing with her, for what is two hundred thousand crowns, and herewithal giving a great sigh, stayed. And I because I perceived his tale such as was meet to be answered, said unto him, Monsieur l'admiral, I have no more to say unto you on my master's be-

half, than I have said unto you already. But for because you
175 have made a long discourse as it were somewhat replying to that that I have reported; if it shall like you to give me leave to say mine own fantasye, as a man that would this thing should take effect, if it may be equally done, I will say it. Yes, quoth he, with all my heart: why should not we talk together friendly, as two that be servants to two great friends; and I neither to take your words to be spoken of an ambassador, nor you to take my words to be spoken of him that holdeth the place about his master that I do? Sir, quoth I, as touching the benevolence you bear unto my master, you may think it well employed; as well for that my master (I think) conceiveth like opinion of you in that part, as also for that you have proved my master always to be a perfect friend unto your master. And to say to you frankly my opinion: albeit I am no man at home, neither of great place, nor of great counsel, yet have I been of court: and men, you know, of like sort, when they meet together, will be oftentimes be talking of matters that they have little to do in, and bable of hearsays. And I being one of that sort, have many times heard, that my master hath been always much affected unto your master, and hath shewed towards him great kindness, when that if he would have taken offers for the contrary, he might have had inestimable benefits. Yea, and that he hath been so well minded unto your master, that neither the manner of your truce taken with the emperor, nor your strangeness at the emperor's being here, nor Pole's passage, nor the conveying of Brauncester, nor the retaining of the hosier that called himself Blancherose, nor Cowbridge, nor nothing else could alienate him from you, such hath been his friendship towards you. And therefore, (I said) if you love him, *vous aves raison.* And if you have set forth this marriage for love, let it appear. Is not two hundred thousand crowns a fair offer? I grant you well, that monsieur d'Orleauns aspireth to great things, and is of great courage: and reason it is, for he is a great king's son; and such a king, as both may and must, if he will have his courage maintained, give him wherewithal. It is not reason, that my master should maintain his courage. My master hath a son of his own, whom I trust he shall live to see a man of courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him there-

after. And as for his daughter, he doth consider her as reason requireth. Had king Lowys any more with one of my master's sisters, than three hundred thousand crowns; and the king of Scots, with another, any more than one hundred thousand? If our friendship be devisable unto you, (for that was his term,) as you say it is, seek it by reasonable mean, I doubt not but you shall obtain it; and ask reasonably with her, and it shall be granted you to. By my truth, quoth he, and so we do. Do you so? quoth I. I have always noted you a man of reason, and so reported you: turn the case, quoth I. Would you remit eight hundred thousand crowns, discharge an hundred thousand a year, for the marriage of your daughter? Yea, by my trouth, would I; quoth he. For the eight hundred thousand crowns I count nothing: and as for the pension, she should have redoubled here in
[fol. 3.] Fraunce; and we would be amys to amys, and enemies to 176
enemies: I mean, *pour la defence de nous estats*, quoth he. *Par nostre Dame,* quoth I, you shall not be mine auditor. Here is all the matter, quoth I. You take a wrong path: you count these eight hundred thousand crowns nothing; and we, if it were weighed in an indifferent balance, think they should weigh down ten hundred thousand. We have a saying in Englande, *A penny at a time is worth a pound.* He that should lend me three or four hundred crowns at my need, should do me even more pleasure, than to offer me ten hundred when I needed not: so much esteem I money lent at such a time. Consider our part, quoth he, and we must knowledge it great: consider your part, quoth he, it is nothing. The pain is past, and not to be reckoned upon. You say not much amiss, quoth I, if we had an evil debtor; but our debtor is rich enough, and a good debtor. And though he have been bold of a long respite with his friend, yet he will pay it, quoth I. I doubt not, quoth he, but the princes will observe their treaties. My master hath, and will, I am sure, quoth I; and so I think will yours. I wot not what to say, quoth he. Marry, quoth I, do that that I have said heretofore: ask reasonably for the dote, and make a reciproque for the rest, if you would be eased of it. Mark this, for it is to be embraced, and a great marriage to monsieur D'orleauns. By my trouth, quoth he, the dote you have offered is nothing: and if I were as king

Lewys and the king of Scots were, I would rather take your daughter in her kyrtel, and more honour were it for me, than, being monsieur D'orleauns, to take her with eight hundred thousand crowns. But I wot not what you mean by that reciproque. Marry, quoth I, it is to do something again of like goodness to the thing that you desire to have done unto you. As, quoth I, you desire to have our daughter, and for her you will give your son; there is one for another. Your son is the reciproque of our daughter. You would have two hundred thousand crowns with her; the reciproque of that must be a like jointre. Here is son for daughter, dowry for dote. Now, if you will be discharged of six hundred thousand, what other thing, that is as good, shall we have for that, and also for our pension? Devise a reciproque. Ah monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he, I understand your reciproque well. The king your master is a gentle prince, and a great prince; and what grief should it be to him, to let pass eight hundred thousand crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In faith, quoth I, seeing he hath borne so long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you somewhat longer for some: and if you will give some in hand, I think he will give you terms for the rest. Ah monsieur l'ambassadeur! quoth he, and shook his head. As for the pension, quoth he, you shall have a reciproque here, a dowry meet for it. Nay, quoth I, your relative agreeth with a wrong antecedent. My master is the antecedent, and the reciproque must be to him, and not to monsieur D'orleauns, for he should have the benefit by it. Nay, quoth he, it is to your master's daughter, and it is no more but for
177 your master to give from himself to his daughter. Ywys, the queen of Navarre's daughter is a greater marriage. And as for the eight hundred thousand, if I were a rich man, and able to give, I would pay a great piece of it myself, ere it should stick. What the queen of Navarre's daughter is, I know not, quoth I: but if you might have my master's daughter upon these conditions, you might say, you had such a marriage as was never heard of. And here we stayed both. At the last, quoth he, suddenly, When it was told me yesternight, that you sent to speak with me, I thought it was for these [fol. 4.] matters: and all this night I have turned and tossed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been spoken

of, if it take not effect. And even now cometh into my head the overture that the king your master made once unto me. What overture was that? quoth I. Marry, quoth he, the overture of the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; you to have had recompense for the perpetual pension upon monsieur de Vandosme's lands: and for the pension vyager, to have been converted to a state. Without any other recompense? quoth I. Yes, quoth he. We should have been enemies to enemies, and left the bishop of Rome. That was somewhat, quoth I; and yet not a reciproque; because you should not have given as good as you took. But then, was none arrearage? quoth I. And here he paused again. I will tell you my fantasy, quoth he; but you shall promise me by your faith, that I shall never hear of it again. I will speak it unto you, as a friend to a friend; and peradventure neither of both parties will like it. Sir, quoth I, you shall never take dishonour by thing you shall say to me. What, quoth he, if the overture should take effect in one part? As how? quoth I. Marry, quoth he, the arrearage to be remitted, for the marriage of your daughter. And because you think it great, we to become friends to friends, and enemies to enemies, and so to enter war together: and of that, that should be conquered by common expenses, to lay out first a recompense for your pension viager, and the perpetual pension to be supplied, as the king your master devised. How like you this device? quoth he. Marry, said I, if you will hear a fool's answer, I like it not: for what need we to fight for that we have already? Marry, quoth he, then you should have it *in perpetuum*. What if you desired this for a reciproque? Marry, quoth I, peradventure my master might purchase more land another way than that might cost him. Why should we desire war? quoth I; we have no quarrel. It is true, quoth he; but we would be the authors. And if you covenanted to be enemy to enemy, would you not join war with us? By my trouth, sir, quoth I, you be entered now into a deep matter, which passeth my capacity. It is a great matter indeed, quoth he: but I talk with you privement, neither because I would have you to declare this to your master, nor for that I will declare it to mine: and yet both you and I may use means to the same end. Well, quoth I, I see you make cursey at the matter, and

would have a great commodity, and yet are loath to offer for it. But I say unto you as a friend, ask, and offer reasonably, and go
178 roundly to work, and make an end of it. For, I fear, I may say to you, if you will not, others will. Yea, quoth he, we know the emperor practiseth with you, as he doth with us; and that the bishop of London hath brought him three fair palfreys from the king your master, for a present. I name no man, quoth I: but whether the emperor practiseth with you, I report me to his offers and his demands. I think, he practiseth with us both, quoth he, only to dissever us: for with your master he will not join, unless he will return again unto the pope. For so his nuncio told the chancellor, and the chancellor told the queen of Navarre; who fell out with him upon the occasion of that conference, and told him, he was ill enough before, but now sithens he hath gotten the mark of the beast, (for so she called it, because he was lately made priest,) he was worse and worse. But to my purpose, quoth he: I think the emperor practiseth with us both; he seeketh nothing else, but to dissever us. You speak [fol. 5.] of his offers and his demands, quoth he; know you what they be? No, quoth I. And yet, indeed, I did come by the knowledge of them within four and twenty hours before. Marry, quoth he, he would make the duke of Orleauns king of Naples, and give us the seignory of Flaunders. They be fair offers, quoth I: but what be his demands? Whereat he smiled. By my trouth, quoth he, I will tell you. He desireth a renunciation of the title of Milan and Navarre, and the restitution of Piedmount and Savoye. What say you to it? quoth I. The king, my master, will none of it, quoth he; for he thinketh, that the next war that should fall, being so great distance between the father and the son, the emperor would send the duke of Orleauns to his father, *une baton blanche*. I have heard say, quoth I, the duke of Cleves also laboureth now sore to have his wife home, and smiled therewith. Why, quoth he, hear you any thing? Yea, marry, quoth I? I hear say, the emperor is in great practice with the duke of Cleves; and that he hath made him half a promise, that for to have Geldres quietly, he and his wife will renounce the title of Navarre. Which indeed I had never heard. But musing upon the word before, it came into my head at that time, and chancing then to speak it, I struck the admiral into a great dump. Wherein,

when he had paused a great while, I said, Sir, I disease you. No, no, monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he: she is too young and sickly, to go out of this country. When monsieur de Cleves, quoth he, hath done the king some good service, and declared himself to all the world to be *pour le roy*, then shall he have his wife. You know what you have to do, sir, quoth I: but seeing you see the world so full of practices, it is good dealing with them that mean plainly. You say trouth, quoth he; and so it is. We know, the emperor doth nothing but practise with us, as he doth with your master: and we know, how he offereth your master, to accord him with the pope, without breach of his honour; and that it shall be at the pope's suit. I am privy, quoth I, of no such matters; but if the emperor desire my master's friendship, I cannot greatly blame him, considering he knoweth partly by his own experience, and partly by evident tokens towards other men, my master is a 179
friendly friend. And as for the bishop of Rome, quoth I, if he sue to be restored to my master's favour again; I think it be hard for him to obtain it, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. Call you him vice, quoth he, he is the very Devil. I trust once to see his confusion. I have begun to pick him a little, I trust to pick him better. Every thing must have a time and a beginning. But when begin you, quoth I; I think, quoth he, ere it be ought long. The king, my master, will convert all the abbeys of his realm, into the possession of his lay gentlemen, and so go forth by little and little (if you will join with us) to overthrow him altogether; why may not we have a patriarch here in Fraunce? Which purpose, I think, he doth perceive, and his legate therefore, now in Almayn, offered that for a reformation there should be a council called, and appointed the place either Mantua, Verona, or Cambray: he had as lief be hanged, quoth I, as have a
[fol. 6.] general council; and even then will that be his sentence. I would fain see you once begin somewhat, quoth I. Ah monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he, I am shrewdly matched. Why so, quoth I, is not your master a king, and if he mind that you speak of, who can match you? He savoureth wonders well, quoth he, but every thing I say must have a time: who was a greater champion for the pope than was your master, and now who is more contrary? If they might once, quoth he, speak

together, I think it will be one of the greatest benefits that ever came to Christendom, but that cannot well be, until these matters come to some nearer point. The fault is not in us, quoth I, that it is at a nearer point. Nor it shall not be long of us, quoth he; but peradventure some of your master's council moveth him more to the emperor's friendship. And what is that friendship in comparison of this friendship? England is a kingdom perpetual, and so is Fraunce. Our masters, their children, their succession, may join for ever. We be under one clime, and of one complexion: we be at hand one to another. The emperor is but one, and when he is dead, some Almayn may be emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, Spayne is a kingdom, but what is that alone: as for Flaunders, shall be our friend if we join together. And as for Italy, when the emperor is dead, who shall be master trow you? And if the emperor might live always, what is his friendship? He careth not if friend, father, and all together should sink, so as his insatiable desire to reign might be satisfied: did he not suffer two of his brethren-in-law to perish for lack of fifty thousand crowns; first the king of Hungarye, and after the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored with ten thousand crowns? He is a covetous man, saving the honour of a prince, and yet he is now base enough, and therefore let us take him while he is low, before he take his breath. Sir, quoth I, you are a man of a great trade, and know the discourse of things better than I am able to conceive. If you esteem the effect of this matter so necessary for you, and the emperor's friendship such as you speak of; take then a direct way for the compassing of it. And if you have any thing in your stomach, that you would
180 have uttered, but not to many, let your ambassador utter it to some one, and let him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and that is the next way to make an end. Would God, monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he, it lay in my hand, it should then be soon at an end. Put to your good will, quoth I, in an honest cause, God will help you: I marvel much, quoth he, we hear not from our ambassador there; so do I, quoth I, by likelihood he is ill at ease, or his man is sick by the way, or some other like matter. When send you into Englande? quoth he: I have no great matters to write of, quoth I; and yet I am determined within a day or two to send into Englande; for I

have appointed my bank to be made at Paris, but now I must send to have it changed to Lyons; because I hear say the king goeth thither. I pray you, quoth he, convey a letter to our ambassador in Englande, which I will send you to morrow, which I promised him; and brake our communication, and so ready to depart, and standing, I asked him whither the ambassador was come to the king out of Almayn, or no? He
[fol. 7.] asked me which ambassador? I told him for aid against the Turq. No, no, quoth he; thinketh men my master is so unwise to aid the emperor and king Ferdinand for the defence of Hungarye, their private dominion? Should my master maintain their state at his dispense, which keep his state from him? Now but if it were to defend Almayn, my master would help the best he could. What doth the king your master? Giveth he any aid? I know not, quoth I, that any hath been yet asked. If any be, I think his majesty will make a reasonable answer; and thus we departed.

Sir, your majesty hath heard truly reported, the divers communication and variety of matter that hath passed between the admiral and me: wherein when I consider mine accustomed protestations, me thinketh he should take none advantage of me; and on the other side, when I remember the simpleness of my wit with the scarcity of mine experience, joining therewithal their proceeding with other your majesty's ambassadors heretofore, whose sayings they report at will for their purposes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that something may have passed me too hotly, somewhat too coldly, something spoken more than needed, or something left out that I should have been[17] spoken. But, Sir, you are my sanctuary, and my trust is only in your equanimity; whom I beseech most humbly of gracious and favourable interpretation, and of your benignity, to consider that this is the first time that ever I came *in harenam;* and he with whom I am matched is an old player; nevertheless, if I had experience, or wit to judge a man, I would think him by his words and countenance to be none imperial, and an utter enemy to Rome; and yet I must note a practice in him, for that he hath promised me twice one should be sent over, and none is yet sent. And besides that, whereas he hath told me heretofore, that no man knew of this last

[17] [*been* is added above the line, and the writer forgot to erase *I*.]

treaty, but he and madame Destampes, adding yesterday the queen of Navarre. I know of the demands the ambassador hath made there, by other means than by your majesty's signification: but your majesty knoweth him far better I am sure, than my foolish wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your most excellent wisdom the judgment of his pro-
181 ceedings, the circumstance whereof your majesty knoweth without addition or diminution of any thing, as near as I could carry it away.

As touching the occurrents of this court, it may please your majesty to be advertised, that the emperor's grand esquier passed by Paris eight days agone into Flaunders, and came not at the court.

It is said here that the emperor is in great great[18] practice with your majesty, for the marriage of the lady Mary, your majesty's daughter, which they think here the rather to be true, for that you have sent the bishop of London to be ambassador there, whom they note here to be an imperial, saying commonly that the marriage between Fraunce and England is dashed.

Certain merchants of Lyons, and monsieur De Langey, a partner with them, have sentence for them of threescore and ten thousand crowns against the state of Florence, and reprisals out for execution.

Salviati and Antenori, two Florentines, having their houses [fol. 8.] in Lyons, who were *fidejussores de solvendo indicato*, be fled into the emperor's dominion into Bresse.

The Florentines take the matter grievously, and think there is no justice in Fraunce, for they had moved their case before in all the universities and courts of Italy, and thinking it out of doubt, offered to put it to the judgment of Fraunce, whereof now they repent them, and will in no wise stand to it. And to advertise your majesty of the case briefly; the state of Florence bought of certain merchants of Lyons a quantity of wheat to such a sum, to be delivered at Florence before such a day. The wheat arrived not before eight days after the time appointed. The Florentines, constrained by necessity, provided themselves other ways, and say the bargain is void. The Lyonnoys allege *tempestatem* for the let, and say that

[18] [The word *great* is accidentally repeated.]

*emptio* is *contractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the Florentines must fulfil their bargain; and so leaving their wheat there, went their ways.

Error is found in the admiral's process, and the sentence revoked; whereby the application of his lands to the crown, and the *amende pecuniaire* that he should have made to divers towns here in Bourgoyn is annihilated, and he *restitutus in integrum*.

I think your majesty heareth from your agent at Venice that James Bey, sometime a Christian man, is coming from the Turcq in embassy to Venice; and is, I think, by this time arrived there, if the emperor have not intercepted him, who hath laid way for him in Ragusa: his coming is nothing pleasant to the Venycians; the cause thereof being as the Venicyans conjecture, the same that I have written to your majesty before; that is to say, passage through their country, or to be enemies to enemies, or to redeem the same with some great sums of money, if nothing else be asked.

Seignior Horacio being heretofore accustomed to be lodged at the court, or near as the place required, is lodged now four leagues off, and yet the king lieth in a great town; whereof the nuncio's secretary complaining to the admiral, the admiral answered him in choler, he had one given him, and he refused it. We cannot give him here a palace as though he were at 182
Paris, and turned his back, and would talk no longer with the secretary.

I send unto your majesty herewith another chart of Algiere, set forth after a sort, with the emperor's assiege before it; the plat whereof varieth from the other I sent your majesty before: and yet I trust your majesty will take the same in good part; for as they came to my hands, being sent to such personages as they were; the one to the French king, and this to the duke of Ferrare; I thought it my duty to send both unto your majesty, leaving unto your excellent wisdom the judgment, whether this, or the other be true, or neither of them both.

I send also unto your majesty a little book, printed here in Paris, containing the conclusion of their diet in Almayn against the Turcq; whether the same be true, or no, I doubt not but your majesty knoweth by such advertisements as you have out

of those parts. And thus having nothing else to write unto your majesty at this present, I beseech God to send you most prosperously and long to reign. From Chabliz in Bourgoyn, the 19th of April.

Your majesty's

Most humble, faithful, and obedient

Subject, servant, and daily orator,

William Paget.

After I had written to your majesty this letter ready to [fol. 9.] send the same forthwith; and deferring the despatch only upon attendance of the admiral's letter, to be conveyed into Englande; because the same came not, I sent the same night one to the court, which is four long leagues hence to the admiral to know his mind therein; which messenger he returned to me with this letter here inclosed, written and defaced as your majesty seeth the same; upon motion whereof, I was at his lodging the next day, by eight in the morning, but I found him not there. At my coming a letter was delivered me from certain of your majesty's privy council, the tenor whereof, both before and sithens I have observed as far as my wit can extend, like as your majesty rather by your great judgment, and gra-
183 cious interpretation of my discourses, than by my simple writings may gather. Anon cometh monsieur l'admiral, accompanied with monsieur Longevalle, governor to the duke of Orleauns, and with more solemnity than was wont to be, took me with them to the church, to pass the time (they said) until the king were up. Monsieur Longevale left the admiral and me walking, and entering communication after this sort. Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I have been bold to put you to this great pain this morning; but this matter troubleth me so sore, that I am at my wit's end: by the body of God I could not sleep for it An oath. all this night. We have received letters from our ambassadeur in Englande, containing the same discourses that you have declared, which my master is sorry to hear; marvelling that the king, his good brother, would offer that sum to his son with his daughter, that some of his gentlemen would not accept. The pope offered to monsieur de Guyses son, with his niece, two hundred thousand crowns, and he refused it. To

An oath.

see us so far asunder, after so long treaty, by God it grieveth me. For you must understand, that all which be of council about my master, be not of one opinion. And upon the receipt of our last letters, it was said to me, We told you whereto the enterprise of this matter would come at length: but surely I have never repented me, nor mine affection can never diminish, for the friendship that hath been shewed on your part, as well in common, as to my particular. And as for the pope's and the emperor's lies and falsities, we know well enough. Wherefore, for the love of God, let us grow to some friendly point. After I had declared unto him for some recompense of his affection, what good affection I bear to Fraunce: I said unto him, monsieur l'admiral, you know, we commune now privately, and therefore you shall hear my private opinion. Seeing that you know other men's proceedings with you to have been so indirect as you speak of, and (as yourself hath confessed unto me oftentimes) that the king's majesty, my master, hath been so perfect and sincere a friend unto you at all times; embrace this friendship; consider this friend; and think that he is to be desired rather with one hundred, than any other with ten hundred. You said, your master will not live alone. Ywys my master may have company enough, if he would slip out of the couple from you. Yea, quoth he, I know; but so will not every man of this council know their falsities. True it is, quoth he, your friendship hath been much, and we do recognise it, and think ourselves in obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a point; the matter consisteth in these terms. Within these two years, we shall owe you a million; after the which time, we must pay you during the king your master's life (God grant it to be long) a hundred thousand crowns yearly, and afterward fifty thousand perpetually, you say. As for the pensions, quoth he, there may be somewhat said for things that should be done by treaties: for our defence, things should have been done; ships and men, and I wot not what. And here he began to hack and to humme. Monsieur l'admiral, quoth I, speak out plainly: for if you have any thing to say in that part, 184
I can answer. Well, well, quoth he, let those things pass: you can claim no pension yet these two years. And herewithal the king sent for him. With whom, after mass, he

went to the standing in a forest hereby; promising me to return immediately after dinner, and praying me heartily to tarry his return. Monsieur l'admiral, quoth I, in his ear, if you talk with the king your master of this matter, deduce him to some conformity. I speak for the affection I bear unto you: for I may say to you, there be others that woo harder [fol. 10.] than you, and yet hitherto we have not given like ear. But you know, a man may drop water so long upon a stone, that it may soak in. And herewith, monsieur Longevale took me at his hand by and by, and had me to monsieur D'orleauns' lodging, where I had an exceeding great feast and cheer. About two of the clock the admiral sent for me; and after our meeting, every man avoided out of the chamber. Monsieur l'ambassadeur, quoth he, let us devise some good mean, to join these two princes together. Then must you, quoth I, go another way to work. Divide your treaty into two parts: treat a marriage, and treat the redemption of the rest you desire. Well, be it, quoth he: but I understand not yet very well your reciproque: (and here he began to be pleasant in his countenance, and to set his words merrily:) and yet, quoth he, our ambassador writeth of the same term, but I wot not what. You will not, quoth I, understand it: but you must learn it; for else I fear (whereof I would be wondrous sorry) that this matter will not go forward. Let me hear again, quoth he. I told him even the same lesson, that is declared in the former part of this letter. It is not, quoth he, a hundred thousand crowns, or two hundred thousand, that can enrich my master, or impoverish yours: and therefore, for the love of God, quoth he, let us go roundly together. We ask your daughter, quoth he: for her, you shall have our son, a gentye prince, quoth he, and set him out to sale. We ask you a dote with her; and for that after the sum you will give, she shall have an assignment after the custom of the country here. And as for the rest, quoth he, what reciproque demand you? What will you, that we do for you? As for the rest of the money, quoth I, take order for the payment of it; and for the pensions, devise a reciproque. Devise you, quoth he, what you will have us to do for it. Nay, quoth I, offer you first, for it passeth my capacity; and reason is so; for the first commodity shall be yours. It is no matter, quoth he; we will

offer first, and you shall ask next; or you shall offer first, and we shall ask next; all is one. But I will now, as I did last day, speak unto you after mine own passion, after mine own affection; for I would all the world knew I am no imperial. And here, with many qualifications and terms, he set forth his passion and affections. You will give us your daughter, and a sum with her, (it maketh no matter what;) howbeit, I trust, your gentle prince will ask no money of us; and as for the reciproque of the rest,—and therewith stayed. Well, quoth he, to speak frankly to you mine affection; will you enter the war 185
with us against the emperor? and be enemy to enemy, for the defence of all such states as we have at this present, and of such as we shall conquer together; or of such as shall be comprised in treaty; the king your master to set upon land in Flaunders ten thousand Englishmen, and we ten thousand Frenchmen; pay the wages of five thousand Almayns, and we of as many; find two thousand horsemen, and we three thousand; find a certain number of ships, and we as many. And yet shall the king my master chaffe the emperor in other places, he was never so chaffed: and spend a hundred, yea two hundred thousand crowns a month other ways. And of such lands as shall be conquered, the pension first to be redoubled, and the rest to be divided equally. What a thing will it be to your master, to have Graveling, Dunkerk, Burburk, and all those quarters joining to his Calais! Marry, quoth I, all the craft is in the catching. And here I put him a foolish question; What if you spent your money, and conquered nothing? Marry, quoth he, then should the pension stand still as it standeth. Monsieur l'admiral, quoth I, these matters you talk of be of too great importance for my wit; and I have also no commission to meddle in them. But to say my fantasye, I know of no quarrel that my master hath against
An oath. the emperor. God's blood, quoth he, why say you so? Doth he not owe your master money? Hath he not broken his leagues with him in six hundred points? Did he not provoke us, and the pope also, to join for the taking of your realm
[fol. 11.] from you, in prey for disobedience? And hath he not caused even now the pope to offer a council at Mantua, Verona, Cambray or Metz; (which place he added now last) the chief cause whereof is to pick you? A pestilence take him, false dis-

sembler, quoth he: saving my duty to the majesty of a king. If he had you at such an advantage, as you may now have him, you should well know it at his hand. And here he went forth at large against the bishop of Rome and the emperor; discoursing what commodity should ensue of this war; and that he would have it in any wise begin this year, now that the emperor were so low; and had, as he saith, for all his millions never a soulz. And that he would the matter should take effect shortly; for the year goeth away: reckoning how many months were now left meet for the war: and how the conquests should be fortified in the winter; and the war recommenced in the summer. And that their chief points resolved, his master should (if your majesty would) turn into Picardye, to entrevieu. And a great discourse, sir, passing mine experience, shewing themselves by his words and countenance wonderfully greedy of present war: which when he had ended, what say you, monsieur l'ambassadeur? quoth he. Will you say nothing to me in this matter? Sir, quoth I, and told him truth, I wot not what to say. Why do you not? quoth I, open the bottom of your stomach to the king my master, by your ambassador there, by whom you have begun and treated this matter. And also I noted in our other conference, that
186 you would not have these discourses reported again of your mouth. Monsieur, quoth he, this is indeed but my device. Howbeit, to speak frankly to you, I have spoken nothing therein, but I think to persuade my master to it: and write so to the king your master, quoth he, and also the whole device. That shall be as you will, quoth I. Nay, quoth he, I pray you write, so as you write as devised of me; and repeated the overture whole together, as is before expressed. Sir, quoth I, seeing you require me, I will write it, so that you will promise me to confirm my tale by your ambassador there. Yes, quoth he; and clapped his hand in mine. But I pray you, quoth he, send one in diligence, that no time be lost. Will you not write? quoth I. Yes, quoth he: but your post will be there before ours. And so departed.

Sir, I beseech your majesty most humbly on my knees, graciously to accept my good will, albeit my wit be not able to serve you in so great an affair; and to pardon me, of your most gracious goodness, if any thing have been said, more or

less than was meet to have been spoken for the advancement of your purposes: of my fault wherein, if it should please your majesty to advise me of, I should have the more wit another time, and take the better heed in a semblable case: for surely, sir, I have an exceeding good will to serve you; and if my wit were as good, I am assured I should serve well, and that knoweth God: to whom I pray daily for your prosperous and long continuance.

From Chabliz, the 22th of April.

Your majesty's most humble, faithful,

and obedient subject, servant, and daily

orator,

William Paget[19].

*To the king's most excellent majesty.*

[19] [Another letter from Paget to the king on the same subject, written two days after this post-script, is printed in State Papers, vol. viii. p. 716. The author omitted some words used by the writer of this letter, and placed in the margin the words *an oath*, which have been printed here as in previous editions, although the exact words of the letter have been replaced.]

187 Number LXXIV. [p. 167.]

*Bishop Thirlby's letter concerning the duke of Norfolk and his son. An original.*

I WOULD write unto you my heart (if I could) against those two ungracious, ingrate, and inhuman *non homines*, the duke of Norfolk and his son. The elder of whom, I confess that I did love, for that I ever supposed him a true servant to his master; like as both his allegiance and the manifold benefits of the king's majesty bound him to have been; but now when I should begin to write to you herein, before God I am so amazed at the matter, that I know not what to say; therefore I shall leave them to receive for their deeds, as they have worthily deserved; and thank God of his grace that hath opened this in time, so that the king's majesty may see it reformed: and in this point, where Almighty God hath not now alone, but often and sundry times heretofore, not only letted the malice of such as hath imagined any treason against the king's majesty, the chief comfort, wealth, and prosperity of all good Englishmen next unto God; but hath so wonderfully manifest it and in such time that his majesty's high wisdom might let that malice to take his effect, all good Englishemen cannot herefore thank God enough. And for our part, I pray God, that we may through his grace, so continue his servants, that hereafter we be not found unworthy to receive such a benefit at his hands. Paper-Office. [State Papers, vol. xi. p. 391.]

On Christmas even, about three of the clock after noon here arrived Somerset with the letters of the king's majesty's most honourable council, dated the 15th of December at Westminster, whereby I perceived the malicious purpose of the said two ungracious men: and for the execution of the king's majesty's commandment declared in the same letters, I sued immediately for audience to the emperor, who entered this town within half an hour after Somerset was come. The emperor prayed me of patience, and to declare to the secretary Joyse, that I would say to him. For he said he had determined to repose himself for three or four days; and had therefore for that time re-

fused audience to the nuncio, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice, which had sued for audience. On Christmas-day on the morning, at nine of the clock, Joyse came to my lodging, to whom I declared as well as I could the great benefits these two ungracious men had received at the king's majesty's hands, and how unkindly and traitorously they went about to serve him, with the rest as mine instructions led me. The king's majesty, my master, (taking the same affection to be in the emperor, his good brother, towards him, 188
that his highness hath to the emperor, *ut amicorum omnia sint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus,*) hath commanded me to open this matter to the emperor: that as naturally all men, and much more princes, ought to abhor traitors, and specially such as had received so great benefits as these men had: so his majesty might rejoice that the king's highness his good brother had found forth this matter, or the malice could be brought to execution. Secretary Joyse said that he would advertise the emperor hereof accordingly, and after a little talk of the haughtiness of the earl of Surrey, and a few salutations, he bade me farewell. When I asked him for monsieur de Grandevela, to whom I said that I would tell this tale, for that I doubted not but that he and all honest men would abhor such traitors: he said that he was not yet come, but he would this day advertise him hereof by his letters; for I write (quoth he) daily to him.

Albeit that this be the whole, and the effect of that I have done in the execution of the king's majesty's commandment, declared in my said lord's letters, yet I will, as my duty is, answer apart their said letters. To the king's majesty herein I dare not write. For, to enter the matter, and not to detest it as the case requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the other side, to renew the memory of these men's ingratitude, (wherewith all noble and princely hearts above all others be soon wounded) I think it not wisdom. Therefore I beseech you heartily, amongst other my good lords there, to make my most humble excuse to his majesty for the same. This ungracious matter that hath happened otherwise than ever I could have thought, hath caused you to have a longer letter than ever I have been accustomed to write. Ye shall herewith receive a schedule of court news, which Honynges learnt while

I wrote this. Secretary Joyse hath prayed me to send the letters herewith enclosed to the emperor's ambassador in England, which I pray you to cause to be delivered, and heartily fare you well.

From Halebourne the Christmas-day at night, 1546.

Your assured loving friend,

Thoms. Westm'.

Herewith ye shall also receive the copy of my letters of the 19th of this month, sent by Skipperus, &c.

[*To the right honourable sir William Paget, knight, one of the king's majesty's two principal secretaries.*]

## Number LXXV. [p. 167.]

*A letter of the duke of Norfolk's, after he had been examined in the Tower.* 189

Titus, B. 1 fol. 94.

My very good lords, whereas at the being here with me of my lord great chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary, they examined me of divers things, which as near as I can call to my remembrance were the effects as hereafter doth ensue.

First, whether there was any cipher between me and any other man: for answer whereunto, this is the truth, there was never cipher between me and any man, save only such as I have had for the king's majesty, when I was in his service. And as God be my judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in cipher, but at such time as I was in France. My lord great master that now is and my lord of Rochford being in commission with me, and whether I wrote any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but and I wrote any thing, I am sure both their hands were at it: and the master of the horse privy to the same: I do remember that after the death of the bishop of Hereford, Fox, it was shewed me that the said bishop had left a letter, which I had sent him, amongst his writings, which being found by a servant of his, that is now with master Deny, shewed the same to the bishop of Doresme that now is, he caused him to throw the same in fire; as I do remember, it was my said lord of Duresme that advised him to burn it: and as I also do remember, the matter that was contained therein concerned lewd speaking of the northern men after the time of the commotion against the said Cromwell: if there had been any thing concerning the king's majesty's affairs, neither the bishop did, nor he, now alive, would not have concealed the same; and whether any part of that was in cipher, or not, as I shall answer to God, I do not remember.

[fol. 94 b.] The effect of another question there asked me, was, as near as I can call to my remembrance, Whether any man had talked with me, that and there were a good peace made between the

king's majesty, the emperor and the French king, the bishop of Rome would break the same again by his dispensation? and whether I inclined that ways, or not, to that purpose? As God help me now, at my most need, I cannot call to my remembrance, that ever I heard any man living speak like words. And as for mine inclination, that the bishop of Rome should ever have authority to do such thing; if I had twenty lives, I would rather have spent them all against him, than ever he should have any power in this realm: for no man knoweth that better than I, by reading of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time the
190 king's majesty hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his heart and with his tongue, in this realm, in France, and also to many Scottish gentlemen, spoken more sore against his said usurped power, than I have done, as I can prove by good witness.

Also my said lord and Mr. Secretary asked me, whether I was ever made privy to a letter, sent from my lord of Wynchester and sir Henry Knevet, of any overture made by Grandvile to them, for a way to be taken between his majesty and the bishop of Rome; and that the said letters should have come to his majesty to Dover, I being there with him. Whereunto this is my true answer: I was never at Dover with his highness sith my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttyngborne: and as God be my help, I never heard of no such overture, save that I do well remember, at such time as sir Francis Bryan was sore sick, and like to have died, it was spoken in the council, that my [fol. 95.] lord of Wynchester should have said, he could devise a way, how the king's majesty might have all things upright with the said bishop of Rome, and his highness' honour saved. Such were the words, or much like. Whereupon, as I had often said in the council, one was sent to the said sir Francis, to know, if ever he heard the said bishop speak like words; which he denied: and as I do now remember, it was sir Rauf Sadeler, that was sent to the said sir Francis. And to say that ever I heard of any such overture made by Grandvile, or that I ever commoned with any man concerning any such matter, other than this of the bishop of Wynchester, as God be my help, I never did; nor unto more than this, I was never privy.

Now, my good lords, having made answer according to the truth of such questions as hath been asked me, most humbly I beseech you all to be mediators for me to his most excellent majesty, to cause such as have accused me (if it might be with his high pleasure) to come before his majesty, to lay to my charge afore me, face to face, what they can say against me: and I am in no doubt, so to declare myself, that it shall appear I am falsely accused. And if his pleasure shall not be, to take the pain in his royal person, then to give you commandment to do the same. My lords, I trust ye think Cromwell's service and mine hath not be like; and yet my desire is, to have no more favour shewed to me, than was shewed to him, I being present. He was a false man; and surely I am a true poor gentleman.

[fol. 95 b.] My lords, I think surely there is some false man, that have laid some great cause to my charge, or else I had not be sent hither. And therefore, eftsonyts most humbly I beseech you to find the means, if they and I may not be brought face to face, yet let me be made privy what the causes are; and if I do not answer truly to every point, let me not live one hour after: for surely I would hide nothing of any question that I shall know, that doth concern myself, nor any other creature.

My lords, there was never gold tried better by fire and water than I have been, nor hath had greater enemies about my sovereign lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my truth hath ever tried me, as I doubt not it shall do in these 191
causes. Surely, if I knew any thought I had offended his majesty in, I would surely have declared it to his person.

Upon the Tuesday in Whitsunweek last past, I broke unto his majesty, most humbly beseeching him to help, that a marriage might be had between my daughter and sir Thomas Semor: and whereas my son of Surrey hath a son and divers daughters; that, with his favour, a cross marriage might have been made between my lord great chamberlain and them. And also where my son Thomas hath a son, that shall (by his mother) spend a thousand marks a year, that he might be in like wise married to one of my said lord's daughters. I report me to your lordships, whether mine intent was honest in this motion, or not.

[fol. 96.] And whereas I have written, that my truth hath been se-

verely tried, and that I have had great enemies. First, the cardinal did confess to me at Asser, that he had gone about fourteen years to have destroyed me; saying, he did the same by the setting upon of my lord of Suffolk, the marquis of Excester, and my lord Sands; who said often to him, that if he found not the means to put me out the way, at length I should surely undo him.

Cromwell, at such time as the marquis of Excester suffered, examined his wife more straitly of me, than of all other men in the realm, as she sent me word by her brother, the lord Montjoy. He hath said to me himself many times, My lord, ye are an happy man, that your wife knoweth no hurt by you; for if she did, she would undo you.

The duke of Bukingham confessed openly at the bar, (my father sitting as his judge) that of all men living he hated me most, thinking I was the man that had hurt him most to the king's majesty: which now, quoth he, I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had married my sister, confessed, that (of all men living) he hated me most; and wished many times, how he might find the means to thrust his dagger in me.

What malice both my nieces, that it pleased the king's highness to marry, did bear unto me, is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in this suit; as my lady Herberd, my lady Tirwit, my lady Kyngston, and others, which heard what they said of me. Who tried out the falsehood of the lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, Aske, and many others, for which they suffered for, but only I? Who shewed his majesty of the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision, but only I? In all times past unto this time, I have shewed myself a most true man to my sovereign lord. And sith these things done in times past, I have received more profit of his highness, than ever I did afore. Alas! who can think, that I, having been so long a true man, should now be false to his majesty? I have received more profit than I have deserved: and a poor man as I am, yet I am his own his near kinsman. For whose sake should I be an untrue man to them? Alas, alas, my lords, that ever it should be thought any untruth to be in me.

192 Finally my good lords eftsonys most humbly I beseech you

to shew this scrible letter to his majesty, and all jointly to beseech his highness to grant me the petitions that are contained in the same, and most especial to remit out of his most noble gentle heart such displeasure as he hath conceived against me: and I shall during my life pray for the continuance of his most royal estate long to endure,

By his highness' poor prisoner,

T. Norfolk.

# Collection of Records belonging to Book IV, V, and VI.

## Number I. [p. 175.]

*Instructions*[1] *given by Luther to Melanchthon* 1534; *of which, one article was erroneously published by me in my IId vol. and that being complained of, the whole is now published.*

Cogitationes meæ sunt : (*viz. Lutheri.*)

Primo ut[2] nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici[3], quod neutri

[1] [Seckendorf's account of this paper is as follows: 'Continuatus hoc anno, Philippi Landgravii et Argentuatensis ministerii cura, de conciliandâ controversiâ circa Sacramentum labor et sub finem anni, mense nempe Decembri, Melancthon in Hassiam missus est, ut cum Bucero colloqueretur; qui eodem tempore superioris Germaniæ Ecclesiastas, ut et Tigurinos Constantiam concaverat, de concordiæ rationibus acturus. Tigurini, cum venire non possent, sententiam suam literis expresserunt, quam octo ex Sueviâ primarios pastores computâsse, productâ eorum epistolâ, scribit Hospinianus in historiâ anni sequentis 1535. fol. 136. optabant autem ut etiam Luthero et Melancthoni placeret. Hunc Lutherus abeuntem de suâ sententiâ scripto instruxerat d. 7. Decembris. Id Latinum extat nescio an ab ipso Luthero conscriptum, aut ab alio versum in collectaneis Valentini Bavari M.S.S. tom. ii. p. 557 bis verbis. *Nostra sententia sic est; quod in pane vel cum pane realiter manducetur corpus Christi, ita ut omnes motus ac actiones quæ tribuuntur pani, tribuantur etiam corpori Christi; quod vere frangatur, edatur conteratur dentibus corpus Christi.*'

Then follows the rest of the document, with a few variations, down to *accedere*. These variations are all noticed at the foot of the page. Seckendorf continues: 'Germanicum insertum est tom. vi. Alt. fol. 335. et seqq. sed cum aliquâ transpositione. Verba enim exordii Latina *Nostra sententia* usque *corpus Christi* rejecta sunt ad finem versionis Germanicæ, et aliud brevius exordium Germanicum substitutum est hic sensu, *Sententia mea an concordia inter nos et Zuinglianos iniri possit hæc est.*' After quoting another passage from Luther to the same effect, he continues: 'Non possum hic bonâ fide reticere, quod scriptum Lutheri ad Bucerum a Reverendissimo Episcopo Salisburiense Gilberto Burneto in laudatissimo opere alibi citato Historiæ Reformationis Anglicanæ, Part. II. Collect. Lib. I. num. XXXIV. p. 98. adductum, (quod ex MSS. Collegii Corporis Christi Cantuariæ nactus est, cujusque mentio fit in Actis erud. Lips. an. 1687. p. 63.) nihil aliud sit quam pars quædam Instructionis die 17. Decembris compositæ, quam paulo ante retulimus. Sed non saltem mutila, verum etiam interpolata est: cujus quidem facti culpâ Burnetum facile absolvere possumus, qui aliorum de MSC. relationem videtur esse secutus. Sen- [Ex MSS. Coll. Corp. Chri. Cant. cii. 14. p. 271.]

[2] [*ut* om.]

[3] [*dici de nobis*]

neutros antea[1] intellexerint. Nam isto pharmaco non medebimur[5] tanto vulneri, cum nec ipsi credamus utrumque[6] verum hoc esse, et alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, et ita magis suspectam reddimus[7] causam, vel potius per totum[8] dubiam facienus, cum sit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine[9] addere offendiculum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos corpus Christi asseruerimus, plane contrarii in sacramento; nihil minus mihi[10] videtur utile, quam ut mediam et novam sententiam statuamus[11]: quâ et illi concedant adesse[12] verè, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Ut enim conscientiam taceam, considerandum est certe, quantam hic fenestram aperiemus[13] in re omnibus communi cogitandi: et orientur hic fontes quæstionum et opinionum[14]: ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo: cum[15] nec ipsi suam nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam: sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis 193
sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis quæstionibus ad epicurismum[16] profuturis.

Tertio[17], Cum stent hic pro nostrâ sententiâ, primum textus ipse apertissimus evangelii, qui non sine causâ movet omnes[18] homines, non solum pios: secundo[19], patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facilè possunt solvi; nec, tutâ conscientiâ, aliter quam sonant, intelligi, cum bonâ grammaticâ textui fortiter consentiant. Tertio, quia periculosum[20] est statuere,

sus enim Lutheri, contra clara ejus verba, supra fideliter et integre allegata, ita refertur, ac si mediam sententiam probaret, et per eam litem sopire velit; cum plane ab illâ compositione abhorreat. Error et æquivocatio est in voce *nihilominus* qua in scripto a Burneto producti concedi aliquid videtur. Sed Lutherus scripsit nihil minus, et Germanice in keine wege innuens nullo modo fieri posse ut media sententia ineatur; tolerare tamen tunc voluisse videtur ad tempus utramque. Itaque pro MS. Lutheri id non potest haberi quod dicto loco asservari dicitur, cum nihil sit nisi fragmentum et quidem sensu inverso, et omissis pro præsentiâ corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacrâ Cœnâ argumentis relatum ex illâ quam exhibui, *Instructione.*']

[4] [*ante*]
[5] [*non afferetur remedium.*]
[6] [*utrinque*] [7] [*reddemus*]
[8] [*omnino*]
[9] [*novum*— opposite this word the author had placed in the margin] *forsan novum.*
[10] [*mihi* om.] [11] [*constituamus*]
[12] [*corpus Christi adesse*]
[13] [*aperiamus*]
[14] [*hic quæstionum et opinionum fontes*]
[15] [*quia*] [16] [*Epicureismum*]
[17] [*Tertio* om.] [18] [*omnes* om.]
[19] [*pios sed et alios; deinde*]
[20] [*periculosum tamen*]

ecclesiam tot annis per totum orbem caruisse vero sensu sacramenti; cum nos fateamur omnes, mansisse sacramenta et verbum, etsi obruta[21] multis abominationibus.

Quarto[22], Dicta Sancti Augustini de signo, quæ contraria nostræ sententiæ videntur, non sunt firma satis contra ista jam tria dicta[23]. Maxime, cum ex Augustini scriptis[24] clare possit ostendi et convinci. cum loqui de signo præsentis corporis, ut illud, contra *Adamantum*[25], *Non dubitavit Dominus appellare corpus suum, cum daret signum corporis sui:* vel de signo corporis mystici, in quo valde multus est, præsertim in Joanne[26]: ubi copiose docet, manducare carnem Christi, esse in corpore Mystico; seu, ut ipse dicit, in societate, unitate, charitate ecclesiæ[27]: istis enim verbis utitur.

Quinto[28], Omnium est fortissimus Augustinus[29], quod dicit, *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis,* etc. Et tamen conscientia memor[30] apertorum verborum Christi, (Hoc est corpus meum) hoc dictum *S. Augustini* facile sic exponit[31]: quod de visibili corpore loquatur Augustinus, sicut sonant verba (quod videtis[32]) ita nihil pugnat Augustinus cum claris verbis Christi: et Augustinus infirmior est, quam ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo satis consono[33], nos moveat in contrarium sensum.

Sexto, Ego S. Augustinum non intelligo aliter (sic[34] et ipse patres ante se forte intellexit) quam quod contra Judæos et Gentes docendum fuit, apud Christianos non comedi corpus Christi visibiliter, et more corporali. Hâc ratione fidem sacramenti defenderunt. Rursus contra hypocritas Christianorum docendum fuit, quod sacramentum non esset salutare accipientibus, nisi spiritualiter manducarent, id est, ecclesiæ essent uniti et incorporati[35]. Et hâc ratione charitatem in sacramento exegerunt; ut ex Augustino clare accipi potest; qui absque dubio, ex prioribus patribus, et sui seculi usu, ista accepit.

Septimo[36], Istis salvis, nihil est quod a me peti possit[37].

[21] [*cum fateamur omnes, nos esse autores veræ religionis et mansisse verbum Christi et Sacramenta licet obruta*]
[22] [*Quarto* om.] [23] [*dicta tria*]
[24] [*ex scriptis Augustini*]
[25] [*Adamantium*]
[26] [*præcipue in Johanne*]
[27] [*Ecclesiæ esse*]
[28] [*Quinto* om.]
[29] [*fortissimum argumentum est Augustini*] [30] [*memor est*]
[31] [*dictum Augustini.—exponitur*]
[32] [*quod videtur*]
[33] [*imo satis consono* om.]
[34] [*Sexto* om. *Ego enim Augustinum aliter non intelligo sicut,*]
[35] [*id est Ecclesiæ essent uniti et incorporati.* om]
[36] [*Septimo,* om.] [37] [*non possit.*]

Nam et ego hoc dissidium vellem[38] (testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum[39] non uno corpore et sanguine meo: sed quid faciam? Ipsi forte conscientiâ bonâ capti[40] sunt in alteram sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si synceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bonâ certe[41] conscientiâ (nisi ipse mihi sim[42] ignotus) in[43] meam sententiam. Ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

Si veri[44] illi sententiam suam, scilicet de præsentiâ corporis Christi cum pane, tenere velint, et petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari; ego plane libenter tolerabo, in spe futuræ communionis. Nam interim communicare illis in fide et sensu non possum.

Deinde, Si politica concordia quæritur, ea non impeditur diversitate religionis: sicut novimus posse conjugia, commercia, aliaque politica constare, inter diversæ religionis homines: primo Corinth. 7. Christus faciat, ut perfecte conteratur Satan 194
sub nostris pedibus. Amen.

Nostra autem sententia est, corpus ita cum pane, seu in pane esse, ut revera cum pane manducetur: et quæcunque motum vel actionem panis habet, eandem et corpus Christi: ut corpus Christi vere dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id est. Hoc est corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Christi,
Febr. 4. 95–6.

We have collated this with the original paper of Luther, and find it to agree exactly. Witness our hands,

John Jaggard.
Rob. Moss.
Will. Lunn.

[38] [*redemtum vellem*]
[39] [*meus redemtor*]
[40] [*rapti*]
[41] [*meâ*]
[42] [*sum*]
[43] [*in hâc sententiâ.*]
[44] [A mistake of the MS. for *vero.*]

## Number II.[45] [p. 189.]

*The lady Mary's letter to the lord protector, and to the rest of the king's majesty's council, upon their suspecting some of her household had encouraged the Devonshire rebellion.*

My Lord,

I have received letters from you, and others of the king's majesty's council, dated the 17th of this present[46], and delivered unto me the 20th of the same, whereby I perceive ye be informed, that certayn of my servants should be the chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in these commotions; which commotions (I assure you) no less offend me, than they do you and the rest of the council. And you write also, that a priest and chapleyn of mine, at Sampford Courtney in Devonshire, should be a doer there. Of which report I do not a little marvel; for, to my knowledge, I have not one chaplayn in those parts. And concerning Pooly, my servant, which was sometime a receiver, I am able to answer, that he remayneth continually in my house, and was never doer amongst the commons, nor

Ex MS. D. G. Cook.

[45] [The editor has been unable to find the copy from which the author printed this letter. The substance of it has been printed from another copy by Strype in the text of his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 177. He there states that it was written in answer to one from the council dated July 17. It is probable therefore that the princess, in replying hastily, mistook the date of the letter, and that Strype took his date of the council's letter, as Burnet also did, from the date assigned to it in the reply, neither of them having seen the council's letter. Strype professes to give this letter from the MSS. of bishop Moore. It is catalogued amongst them in volume No. 805, which is not now amongst those in the public library at Cambridge, and the editor has been unable to trace it. Strype's account of it is in the main accurate; but he has given it in a form which is useless for collation.]

[46] [This date is a mistake. Two copies of this letter exist in the State Paper Office, from which it appears that it was written on the 18th of July 1549. The letter is entered in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, p. 20, art. 30, as follows: 'The council to princess Mary; complain of certain of her retainers attending seditious assemblies, particularly a chaplain at Sandford Courtenay in Devon; and one Pooley, a leader of the worst sort of the rebels in Suffolk.']

came in their company. It is true, that I have another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and whether the commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he resorteth seldom to my house. But by report, they have taken by force many gentlemen in these quarters, and used them very cruelly. And as touching Lionell my servant, I cannot but marvell of that bruit, specially because he dwelleth within two miles of 195
London, and is not acquainted within the shire of Suffolk, or Norfolk; nor at any time cometh into these parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my house, and is now at London about my businesse, being no man apt to meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within my house.

My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports of any of mine, and specially where no cause is given, trusting that my houshold shall try themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest quiet persons; or else I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of those men to require and do as they do: that thing appeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about these parts is touching no point of religion; but even as ye ungently, and without desert charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it, as the case doth require, do and will pray God, that your new alterations, and unlawful liberties, be not rather the occasion of these assemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witnesse) inquieted therewith. And as for Devonshire, no indifferent person can lay their doings to my charge; for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace, as I would wish to my self. So with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell.

From my house at Kennynghall the 20th of July.

Your friend to my power,

MARY.

## Number III. [p. 199.]

*A letter of Christopher Mont concerning the Interim.*

[*Ex epistolis autographis Variorum ad Musculos, (Wolfgangum patrem, Abrahamum filium,) aliosque Bibliothecæ Zofingensis, tom.* i. *Epist.* 86.]

Pietate et eruditione eximio D. Wolfgango Musculo, amico charissimo.

Cum harum lator mihi indicâsset se dominum P. nôsse, nolui eum sine meis ad te reverti literis. Cum ego Augustâ discederem: discessi autem, primo hujus, nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per ecclesias, sed optimi quique vehementer metuebant superstitiones indicendas propediem. Concionator ad S. Georgium mihi significavit, senatum a concionatoribus efflagitare, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non desererent, sed porro in eâ permanerent; se eos mature et in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint superstitionem imminere, quasi modo non in mediâ urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque senatus, ut concionatores populo *Interim* quam compositissimis et coloratissimis verbis possent, proponerent; quod major pars recusârunt, dicentes se hoc scriptum laudare nullâ ratione neque constantiâ posse, quod communi suffragio damnâssent; duo tamen se id facturos receperunt, quod et factum audivi ad S. Crucem et Mauritium. Non dubito te audiisse, de eo scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxoniâ. Utinam Germana virtus et constantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut si non fortiter agendo, saltem fortiter adversa propter Christi gloriam ferendo, professionem et officium nostrum testemur. Dux Gemini pontis Augustâ discessisse dicitur, ut qui *Interim* indictionem et promulgationem diocesano præstandam et committendam dixerit, neque se neque suos huic executioni idoneos ministros esse. Tamen quâ conditione dimissus sit, certo nondum didici. Bremenses discessisse audio nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præscribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam si eas

Ex MS. Tigur.

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acceperint, præstare non possint. Multi putant consulto tam gravia eis præscribi, ut sub specie contumaciæ et obstinationis, obsidione pressi et expugnati Phrisiæ jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptissima est, ut quæ supra Visurgim et Albim posita accessum aperiat ad Chersonesum totam occupandam. Quâ lege Constantienses redierint domum ex domino P. nôsse cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi significare velis quæ concordiæ et conjunctionis spes ipsis inter se Helvetiis sit. Litteras quas ad me perlatas voles, cura ad Dominum Bucerum adferri. Ego subinde Domino P. significabo, quæ rerum hic facies sit. Bene vale.

Argentinæ 18 Julii Anno 1548. Literas lectas exuras.

Christophorus Mont.[47]

[47] [This letter has escaped the researches of the editor of the Epistolæ Tigurinæ. It was full of mistakes, which have been corrected from a collation of the original at Zofingen.]

## Number IV. [p. 200.]

*A part of a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, giving an account of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands.*

Nos 14 Aprilis relictâ Coloniâ, iter versus Antverpiam, per Campaniam Brabantinam, sterilem et arenosam, instituimus. 18 ejusdem, venimus omnes, Dei gratiâ, salvi et incolumes Antverpiam; 20 die, precibus oratoris regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus, Bruxellam me contuli, una cum Joanne Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem et miserias aulæ; præterea servitutem bonorum civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem filiarum, uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditis-
197 simæ gentis ferre coguntur, ut statum ac conditionem suæ patriæ altius consideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, et diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiores redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, qui raro cubiculum suum egreditur, nec filium, qui pascha suum egit extra civitatem, in monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxoniæ Joannes Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis fui in ædibus illius valde humaniter acceptus a suis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad colloquium; sed impedivit semper primi capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in suâ fide, et valet, quantum ad corporis valetudinem spectat. De liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget spes, nisi (quod absit), religionem suam mutet, et male speret de verbo Dei. Catus landgravius captivus detinetur Auldenardi, septem milliaribus a Gandavo: homo omnibus numeris miser et inconstans: nunc omnem obedientiam Cæsari, ac fidem pollicetur; missam, ac cætera impia sacra, obviis ulnis amplectitur; nunc Cæsarem, cum suo interdecreto, execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius; misere affligitur, et meritas pœnas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Vidimus, præterea Lazarum Suendiæ proditorem illum, quem nôstis.

Ex MS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ xxx. p. 36.]

De Brandeburgensi, ac aliis Germanis, Hispanorum mancipiis, nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus papæ, per totam

Quadragesimam, in suâ aulâ est concionatus; quam impie non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter papam et Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum et Cæsarem. Uterque valde sibi timet a Cæsare: Cæsar vicissim a fulmine papæ maxime timet. Jam agitur serio inter illos, an concilium generale Tridenti, an Boloniæ sit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæsar consentiat de Boloniâ: is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: et potius dicit se omnes amicitias cum papâ dissuere, quam illum locum. Coloniam scilicet admittere: Quid monstri in hoc, ex parte papæ, lateat, facile divinare liceat. Diffidit regno suo valde; nam hoc didici ab oratore nostro, quod si Cæsaris confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes, quod brevi in cognitionem Christi induceretur. Nam aperte mihi retulit, et Cæsarem, et consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci et trahi, per confessorem, qui omnia papæ suasu et consilio agit. Et facile credo: nam ante septem menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiori Germaniâ, fuit derelictus a suo confessore, quod crudelius noluit sævire in pios viros, et in integrum papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei episcopatum in Hispaniâ, ad viginti millia coronatorum per annum: neglexit Cæsaris liberalitatem, et Cæsarem ipsum hisce verbis, *Ecclesiæ Christi me totum debeo, sed non tibi, nec dono tuo, nisi ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire.*

Jam de Cæsaris animo erga Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: si hâc viâ res non succedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lasset vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuo vos diligatis; Deum timete, sancte vivite, strenuo pugnate, et exspectate victoriam a Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putant vobis non imminere periculum, sed sitis semper parati: et absit procul omnis securitas, ne obruat inopinatos. Adhuc Cæsar bene 198
scit, se non posse pro voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius, (ut accepi a viris fide dignis) aliquid mutâsse in religione: quam si Germanis promisisset liberam maxime fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum Gandavum et a Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel ascensurum versus

Spiram. Copias militum habet prope Bremam et civitates maritimas, sed otiosas: nihil proficiunt nec a civibus multum timentur; indies magis ac magis civitates suas muniunt et commeatum habent ad quinque annos, nec multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones a suis Cæsar jam exigit credo te non ignorare. Dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hospita nostra in Campaniâ: *Si* inquit *ferre potuerim in sinu meo magnam ac jam mihi molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem et per stipem victum quærerem, nam Cæsaris et reginæ exactores labores sudoris nostri exantlant.* Hâc ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant. Concessa est regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetiâ unum. Heri 25 Aprilis invitatus ad prandium a quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optime novit Helvetiam, et sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit, se frequenter vidisse in aulâ Cæsaris ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos ministros civitatis Lucernanæ, nam bene novit illos ex colore vestium; metuendum est, ne arcana patriæ per hujusmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

*The rest of the letter relates to private concerns.*

## Number V. [p. 203.]

*The oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in king Henry the VIIIth's time. The last words were struck out by king Edward the VIth.*

[*Sacramentum præstitum per Rolandum Episcopum Coventriæ et Lichfeldiæ Regi Henrico VIII. contra Papam.*

This is the oath that every person elected or presented to any archbishopric or bishopric within this realm, or within any other the king's dominions, shall swear to the king's majesty.]

Ex MSS. Rymer. [4622. Art. 67, p. 307.]

YE shall say and swear as followeth, I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear unto your majesty, and to your heirs kings of this realm; and with life and limb, and earthly honour for to live and die as your faithful subject, against all persons of what degree, state, or condition soever they be:

AND I shall prefer, sustain, and maintain the honour, surety, right, preeminence, and prerogative of your majesty, and your heirs kings of this realm, and jurisdiction of your imperial crown of the same, afore and against all manner of persons, powers, and authorities whatsoever they be:

AND I shall not witlynglie do, or attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done or attempted any thing, or things, privily, or apertly, that may be to the diminution or derogation of your crown of this realm; or of the laws, liberties, rights, and prerogatives belonging to the same, but put mine effectual endeavour from time to time, as the case shall require to 199
advance and increase the same to my wit and uttermost of my power: and in nowise hereafter I shall accept any oath, or make any promise, pact, or covenant, secretly or apertly by any manner of means, or by any colour of pretence to the contrary of this my oath, or any part thereof.

AND I shall be diligently attendant upon your majesty, and to your heirs kings of this realm, in all your commandments, causes, and businesses.

AND also I acknowledge and recognize your majesty immediately under Almighty God to be the chief and *supreme head of the church* of England, and claim to have the *bishopric of Chester*, wholly and only of your gift: and to have and to hold the profits temporal and spiritual of the same only of your majesty, and of your heirs kings of this realm, and of none other: and in that sort and none other, I shall take my restitution out of your hands accordingly, utterly renouncing any other suit to be had herefore to any other creature living, or hereafter to be, except your heirs.

AND I shall to my wit and uttermost of my power observe, keep, maintain, and defend all the statutes of this realm made against the reservations and provisions of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, of any of the archbishopries or bishopries of this realm, or of other your dominions.

AND also I shall observe, fulfil, defend, maintain, and keep to the uttermost of my power all the whole effects and contents of the statute *made for the surety* of your succession of your crown of this realm, and all causes and articles mentioned and contained in the said statute: and also all other statutes made in confirmation, or for the due execution of the same. And all these things I shall do without colour, fraud, or any other undue means against all persons, powers, and authorities of the world, whatsoever they be. And in nowise for any manner of cause, colour, or pretence, privily or apertly I shall move, do, or attempt; nor to my power suffer to be done or attempted any thing or things to the contrary hereof, so help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelist.

*Per me* Roland. Co. et Lich. electum [46].

[46] [There is no date to this document, but the signature of the name shows that it was some time between March 19 and April 19, 1534.]

## Number VI. [p. 206.]

*A letter of Peter Martyr's to Bullinger, of the state of the university of Oxford, in the year* 1550, *June* 1.

Ex MS. Tiguri. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, p. 317.]

S. D. LITERIS tuis vir eximie mihique in Christo plurimum observande, longe antea respondisse debueram, ad quod faciendum, non solum usitatum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod suavissimæ fuerunt et bene comitatæ aliorum symmystarum epistolis jucundissimis, vehementer exstimulabar. Sed quando redditæ sunt adversâ valetudine nonnihil afflictabar: et 200
statim ut convalui, eâ mole negotiorum pene sum oppressus, ut quod maxime cupiebam facere non licuerit. Cujusmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas interpretationes Pauli, quæ totum ferme sibi hominem vendicant, si velit in eis pro dignitate versari, accessit ex legibus modo latis a regiâ majestate, huic academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter publicæ disputationes de rebus theologicis habeantur, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut et intersim et præsim. Deinde in hoc regio collegio ubi dego, singulâ quâque septimanâ, theologicæ disputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas omnibus aditus pateat, identidem publicæ dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque cum adversariis perpetuo luctandum, et quidem pertinacissimis; quo fit, ut velim nolim facile cogar alias non raro seponere res, et vocationi cui sum obstrictus, totum tempus mihi concessum transmittere. Verum certo scio boni consules, nec in malam partem rapies (quæ tua est humanitas) quod a contemptione profectum non esse animadvertes. Gaudeo quas scripseram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuisse susceptas: neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præsidium, si quid me possis eo juvare, tam prompte atque alacriter offers. Recompenset Deus istum animum, ut ego illum sincerâ caritate complector. Hic vero scito negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo successu, eoque ardore quo velim, sed tamen plus quam nostra peccata mereantur, et aliquanto felicius atque mihi ante quatuor menses polliceri ausus essem. Permulta certe sunt quæ nobis

obstant, cum primis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, et eorum qui profitentur evangelium crassa vitia, et quorumdam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam, sed in eâ vellent demutari quam minimum fieri posset, quod cum animo sint et *judicio civiles*, existimant maximos motus reipublicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipse cernis, cum innumeræ corruptiones, infiniti abusus, et immensæ superstitiones in ecclesiâ Christi passim inoleverint, fieri non posse ut justa habeatur instauratio nisi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad suos genuinos ortus purissimos fontes et inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan astute sanctos conatus aggreditur; vellet enim hoc prætextu quam numerosissimas relinqui papatûs reliquias; partim ne homines ejus facile obliviscerentur, partim vero ut reditus ad illum facilior maneret.

At vicissim non parum inde consolationis haurimus, quod regem habemus vere sanctum, qui tanto studio pietatis flagrat; eâ est, hâc ætate, præditus eruditione, câque prudentiâ jam nunc et gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem stuporemque se audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandus est Deus contentissimis votis, ut eum regno et ecclesiæ multo diutissime conservet. Sunt et complures heroes, regnique proceres, bene admodum sentientes; et aliquos episcopos habemus non pessimos, inter quos est uti signifer Cantuariensis. Deinde in eorum album cooptatus est Hopperus, magnâ porro bonorum omnium lætitiâ; utque audio, contigit ei populus non malus. Me illum spero visurum, quando ad suum episcopatum iter faciet. Nam si Glocestriam proficiscetur, quæ est ejus ecclesia, per nos hac transibit. Quo autem pacto adduci potuerit, ut fieret episcopus, referrem pluribus, nisi compertissimum ha-
201 berem, illum ipsum (quæ est ejus in te observantia) omnia fusissime scripturum. Est alius præterea vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui superioribus annis agebat in Germaniâ parochum: is multum in Devoniâ, et prædicando, et interpretando scripturas, laborat; eum te probe nôsse arbitror, qui Execstrensis episcopus fiet. Nilque potest commodius, et utilius fieri ad religionis repurgationem, quam si omnes hujus farinæ ad ecclesiæ administrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam se huc dominus a'Lasco, quum ejus Phrysia imperatorium *Interim* admisit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum ecclesiæ præerit; quod mihi vehementer placet. Degit nunc apud D. Cantuariensem.

Accepisti jam quo loco nostræ res in Angliâ sint, quas ad hæc nonnihil melioris spei efficit pax ista, cum rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt, papæ celebretur concilium : verum si sapuerimus et hoc genus cogitationum in Deum rejiciemus. Sermones quos edidisti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles monitores, qui ut e mediis scripturis sanctis excitati sunt, ita et grati fuerunt ; et spero, non absque fructu legentur.

Joannem ab Ulmis, et Stomphium, quos mihi commendâsti, eâ quâ possum caritate prosequor ; atque ipsi vicissim me colunt, et observant : ad me ventitant sæpius ; et si quid vel scribendum, vel aliud agendum meâ causâ sit, præstare non detrectant, sed lubenti volentique animo faciunt ; quâ de causâ, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stomphium ad vos delatum esse, quod contra quam vestris legibus liceat, nescio quod ab Anglis stipendium accipiat ; id vero certo scias, falsum esse. Vixit hic aliquandiu in nostro collegio, sed suâ pecuniâ ; quod posthac ne illi fraudi sit, utque ullâ specie mali abstineat, hinc discessit, et in oppido apud civem bibliopolam divertit. Modo quod superest, tuas, tuorumque preces, quantâ possum cum instantiâ imploro ; quo progrediatur in hoc regno Domini opus, atque tandem corda patrum in filios, et corda filiorum in patres suos, nostro ministerio revocentur.

Oxonii, primâ Junii 1550. Valeas in Domino ; et me, ut facis, ama.

Tuus, ex animo,

Petrus Martyr.

Salutes, quæso, isthic meo nomine, omnes bonos in Christo fratres ; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, et doctorem Ghesnerum.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo, pietate ac doctrinâ, viro,
D. Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ
Tigurinæ pastori fidelissimo, domino suo ac fratri colendissimo.
Tiguri.

## Number VII. [p. 212.]

202 *A mandate, in king Edward's name, to the officers of the archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the articles of religion should be subscribed.*

Mandatum pro publicatione nonnullorum articulorum, veram Christi fidem concernentium.

EDWARDUS SEXTUS, DEI GRATIÂ, ANGLIÆ, ET Franciæ, et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, Reg. Cranmer, f. 65. [b.]

DILECTIS sibi, officiali curiæ Cantuariensis et decano decanatûs de archubus Londoniæ ac eorum surrogatis, deputatis, aut locum tenentibus, uni vel pluribus, salutem.

QUONIAM nuper, per literas nostras regias, signeto nostro obsignatas, reverendissimo in Christo patri, consiliario nostro fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, dederimus in mandatis; Quatenus ipse, ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam illustrandam, nostramque, et ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus caput supremum, post Christum, esse dinoscimur) honorem, et ad tollendam opinionis dissensionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, nonnullos articulos, et alia rectam Christi fidem spirantia, clero et populo nostris, ubilibet infra suam jurisdictionem degentibus, pro parte nostrâ exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret et significaret; prout in literis nostris (quarum tenores, pro hic insertis haberi volumus) latius continetur, et describitur;

VOBIS igitur, et vestrûm cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districte præcipiendo nostrâ sublimi regiâ auctoritate mandamus; quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptorie, omnes et singulos rectores, vicarios, presbiteros, stipendiarios, curatos, plebanos, ministros, ludimagistros cujuslibet scolæ grammatices, aut aliter vel alias grammaticam, aperte vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, verbi Dei prædicatores, vel prælectores, necnon quoscumque alios, quamcumque aliam functionem ecclesiasticam, (quocumque nomine, aut appellatione, censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes et habentes; Iconimos quoque cujuslibet parochiæ, infra decanatum de archubus præ-

dictum, existentes aut degentes, quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareat, et compareat personaliter, coram dicto reverendissimo patre Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in aulâ ædium suarum apud Lambehithe, die Veneris, vicesimo tercio die præsentis mensis Junii, inter horas septimam et nonam, ante meridiem ejusdem dici, hiis quæ tunc eis ex parte nostrâ fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturi, facturique ulterius et recepturi, quod consonans fuerit rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis die, loco et horis, eundem reverendissimum, de executione hujus regii nostri mandati, una cum nominibus et 203
cognominibus, omnium et singulorum, per vos monitorum, rite, recte, et auctentice reddatis certiorem, una cum præsentibus uti decet.

TESTE Thomâ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo.

*Certificatorium factum per decanum decanatûs de arcubus Londoniæ super executione mandati concernentis publicationem nonnullorum articulorum fidem Christianam concernentium.*

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI ET DOMINO, domino Thomæ, permissione divinâ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano; auctoritate illustrissimi in Christo principis, et domini nostri, domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, Fraunciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, et in terrâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ, supremi capitis, sufficienti auctoritate fulcito, Johannes Gybbon civilium legum professor, vestræ celsitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus decanatûs vestræ beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de arcubus Londoniæ commissarius omnem quæ decet reverentiam, et obedientiam, tanto reverendissimo patri debitam cum honore. Mandatum illustrissimi et potentissimi domini nostri regis, præsentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos rectores, presbiteros [47], [stipendiarios, curatos, plebanos, ministros,

[47] [Thus far was printed by the author, and from him by Wilkins, Conc. iv. p. 79, and in the Appendix to the Parker Society's edition of Cranmer's Remains, as well as in the Ecclesiastical History Society's edition of Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 415. The rest of the document is now printed for the first time.]

ludimagistros et pubem instituentes et alios functionem ecclesiasticam obstinentes et habentes, necnon Iconimos in scedulâ præsentibus annexâ respective nominatos, per Richardum Clony literatum dicti decanatûs de archubus apparitorem sive præconem nostrum generalem in eorum respective parochiis per eum vicesimo primo et vicesimo secundo diebus mensis præsentis Junii personaliter apprehensos juxta vim formam et effectum dicti mandati monendos fore curavimus ad comparendum coram nobis die et loco in dicto mandato ut præfertur præsentibus annexo declaratis. Ceterique vero rectores dicti decanatûs videlicet magister Johannes Josephe rector ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de archubus, Ricardus Marshe rector ecclesiæ parochialis sancti Pancrasii, Petrus Alexander rector ecclesiæ parochialis omnium sanctorum in Lombartstrete, Johannes Graye rector ecclesiæ parochialis sancti Johannis Evangelistæ in Watlyngstrete et Johannes Palysgrave rector ecclesiæ parochialis sancti Dunstani in oriente, a civitate Londoniâ abfuerunt et in præsenti absunt quominus personaliter citra receptionem dicti mandati moneri potuerint. Sicque mandatum dicti domini nostri regis præsentibus annexum, quantumvis in nobis situm est, debitæ executioni mandavimus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum regiæ majestatis ad causas ecclesiasticas pro archidiacono Surrey præsentibus apponi procuravimus. Et nos officialis antedicti archidiaconi ad specialem rogati, dicti commissarii dictum sigillum præsentibus apposuimus.

Dat vicessimo secundo die mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio.]

## Number VIII. [p. 213.]

*By the king.*

*The king's mandate*[48] *to the bishop of Norwich, sent with the articles to be subscribed by the clergy.*

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well:

And because it hath pleased Almighty God in this latter time of the world, after long darkness of knowledge to reveal to this his church of England, whereof we have under Christ the chief charge in earth, a sincere knowledge of the gospel, to the inestimable benefit of us and our people, redeemed by our Saviour Christ; We have thought it meet, and our duty for the pure conservation of the same gospel in our church, with one uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching, and for the avoiding of many perilous and vain opinions, and errors, to send unto you certain articles, devised and gathered with great study, and by counsel, and good advice 204
of the greatest learned part of our bishops of this realm, and sundry others of our clergy; which articles we will and exhort yourself to subscribe, and in your preachings, readings[49], and teachings, to observe and cause to be subscribed and observed, of all other[50] which do, or hereafter shall preach, or read[51], within your diocese. And if any person or persons, having benefice within your diocese, shall from henceforth, not only refuse wilfully to set their hands to these articles, but also obstinately exhort their parochians to withstand the same, and teach the people in a[52] contrary way; our pleasure is, that being duly proved, ye shall advertise us, or our council of the whole matter fully, to the intent such further order may by direction from us, or[53] our said council, to[54]

[48] [This mandate has been printed at length by Strype in his Memorials, vol. ii. cap. xxii. p. 420, from Ridley's register; and he observes with remarkable carelessness, that 'none of our church historians take notice of it,' though this volume had been published six years before. The variations in the two copies are slight, and have been noticed at the foot of the page.]

[49] [*and readings*]

[50] [*others*] [51] [*teach or read*]

[52] [*any*] [53] [*and*] [54] [*to* om.]

be taken as the case[55] shall require, and shall stand with justice, and the order of our laws.

And further, that when and as often as ye shall have any manner of parson presented unto[56] you to be admitted[57] by you as the ordinary to any ecclesiastical order, ministry, office, or cure, within your diocese, that[58] ye shall before you[59] admit him confer with him in every these articles. And finding him thereto consenting, to cause him subscribe[60] the same in one ligier book to be formed for that purpose, which may remain as a register for a concord[61], and to let him have a copy of the same articles. And if any man in that case shall refuse to consent to any of the said articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and command you, that neither ye[62], nor any for you, or by your procurement[63] in any wise shall admit him, or allow him as sufficient and meet to take any order[64], ministry, or ecclesiastical cure. For which your so doing we shall discharge you from all manner of penalties, or dangers[65] of actions, suits, or pleas of premunires[66], *quare impedit*, or such like. And yet our meaning is, that if any party refuse to subscribe any of these articles for lack of learning and[67] knowledge of the truth[68], ye shall in that case[69] by teaching, conference, and proof of the same by the scriptures, reasonably and discreetly move and persuade him thereto before you[70] shall peremptorily judge him as unhable and a recusant. And for the trial of his conformity, ye shall according to your discretion prefix[71] a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent, so it be betwixt three weeks and six weeks from the time of the[72] first access unto you. And if after six weeks he will not consent and agree willingly to subscribe, then ye may lawfully, and shall[73] in any wise refuse to admit or enable him.

And where there is of late set forth by our authority[74] a Catechism for the instruction of young scholars in the fear of God, and the[75] true knowledge of his holy religion, with

55 [*cause*] 56 [*to*] 67 [*or*] 68 [*truth thereof*]
57 [*advanced*] 58 [*that* om.] 69 [*in any wise*] 70 [*ye*]
59 [*ye*] 60 [*to subscribe*] 71 [*prefix him*] 72 [*his*]
61 [*record*] 62 [*you*] 73 [*may and lawfully shall*]
63 [*procurancie*] 64 [*orders*] 74 [*by our authority set forth*]
65 [*danger*] 66 [*Premunire*] 75 [*the* om.]

express commandment from us to all schoolmasters to teach and instruct their[74] scholars the said Catechism, making it the beginning and first foundation[75] of their teaching in their[76] schools: our pleasure is, that for the better execution of our said commandment, ye[77] shall yearly, at the least once visit, or cause to be visited, every school within your said diocese, in which visitation it shall be inquired[78] both how the schoolmaster of every such school hath used himself in the teaching of the said Catechism; and also how the scholars do receive and follow the same, making plain and full certi- 205
ficate of the offenders, contrary to this our[79] order, and of their several offences, to the archbishop of that[80] province, within the[81] months from time to time after every such offence. Given under our signet at our manor of Grenewich the 9th day of June, the[82] 7th year of our reign.

This is faithfully transcribed from the beginning of a folio MS. book in the principal registry of the lord bishop of Norwich[83]——After which immediately follow

74 [*their* om.]
75 [*entry*—this word was supplied by Strype from conjecture.]
76 [*the*]
77 [*you*]
78 [*required*]
79 [*our* om.]
80 [*the*]
81 [*three*]
82 [*in the*]
83 [This book had been mislaid, and could not be found by the editor for some time. It was accidentally discovered some months afterwards. It is a small folio, in bad condition, bound in leather, the covers being a little worm-eaten, and wrapped round with a strap and clasp fastened to a band. Its size is about twelve inches by ten, and it has the initials W. M. stamped on the outside of both covers. A few leaves are loose, and several are turned down at the corners and stained from damp. The first leaf which is loose is blank; the next five leaves consist of 'A Table for the things contained in this book;' and on the back of the sixth leaf (called fol. 1.) begins the king's Mandate, which takes up that and the next two pages. Then come the 'Articuli' on fol. 3, reaching to fol. 13, beautifully transcribed, and representing with extreme exactness the original printed copy, which probably was taken from this book. Even the word *reportet* in the 39th Article is written *repotet*, just as in the printed copy in the British Museum, and the *r* supplied above the line. It agrees with this copy also in the title of the 42d Article, which is 'non omnes tandem servandi sunt;' some of the printed copies omitting 'sunt.' It also omits, as the British Museum copy omits, the Κύριε σῶσον τὸν Βασιλέα, which appears at the end of some copies. The only points in which the editor observed any difference, between the written copy in Thirlby's Register and the printed copy in the British Museum, is, that in the 33d Article, the latter has *prosus* by

*Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, anno Domini* 1552. *ad tollendam dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis, firmandum inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros, convenerat regiâ authoritate in lucem editi.*

42 Articles[84] as in the Appendix of 2nd volume of the History of the Reformation, N. 55. subscribed by about 50 original hands, thus :

*Per me* Milonem Spenser.
*Per me* Johannem Barrett.
*Per me* Petrum Watts.
*Per me* Richardum Lusher.*
*Per me* Thomam Joanson. [fol. 14.]
*Per me*
*Per me* Johannem Bleuytt.*
*Per me* Johannem Kempe.
*Per me* Rogerum Cokson.
*Per me* Henricum Fayers.
*Per me* Robertum Basse.
*Per me* Willielmum Casse.
*Per me* Wylhelmum Leman.
*Per me* Rogerum Durey.
*Per me* Gilbertum Bartley.

mistake for *prorsus*, whilst the register has it written correctly; and that in the 10th, *eandem* is written for *eundem;* in the 11th, *homelie* for *homilie;* and in the 15th, *recipiscem* for *resipiscem.*

The last Article is on the reverse of fol. 13; and after an interval of about half a page follow the names of the subscribers, some of which are very difficult to read, and have been given as faithfully as the editor, assisted by the registrar, could represent them: some few must be considered doubtful, and have been printed with an asterisk (*). The names occupy the remainder of the back of fol. 13, and also folios 14 and 15, the greater part of the back of which last is vacant, apparently left so for the insertion of other names. Then follow the rest of the names, the last two being on the back of fol. 16. Fol. 17 is vacant. Fol. 18, which is certainly part of the same sheet, belongs to the year 1572. After this are inserted the pensions to monks and nuns down to fol. 37; then the names of the *Seculares deprivati beneficiis;* then those of the *Religiosi deprivati;* then those of the *Seculares non beneficiati* and of the *Religiosi non beneficiati,* down to fol. 51. Then, fol. 52, Mandates from Philip and Mary; fol. 53, do.; fol. 54 and 55 vacant. Then fol. 56 to fol. 58 as printed in this collection; after which the volume is not foliated, and contains documents belonging to the time of Mary and Elizabeth.]

[84] [The author seems to have forgotten that these articles are not in Thirlby's register as he printed them in the Records of his second volume, but in Latin.]

[fol. 14 d.] *Per me* Henricum Smythe.
*Per me* Johannem Heye.
*Per me* Jacobum Grene.
*Per me* Johannem Meke.
*Per me* Andream Oby.*
*Per me* Thomam Sall.
*Per me* Willielmum Leeky.*
*Per me* Thomam Barker.
*Per me* Robertum Seton.*
*Per me* Nicholaum Smythe.
[fol. 15.] *Per me* Walterum Colles.
*Per me* Walterum Benyngtun
*Per me* Simonem Jellon.
*Per me* Ricardum Harys.
*Per me* Thomam Hall.
*Per me* Richardum Chypper.*
*Per me* Thomam Frary.
*Per me* Willielmum Whithedon,
*Per me* Petrum Hewett.
*Per me* Willielmum Best.
[fol. 15 d.] *Per me* Robertum Merton.
*Per me* Thomam Parker.
*Per me* Thomam Rose.
[fol. 16.] *Per me* Thomam Tedman.
*Per me* Robertum Talbott.
*Per me* Henricum Mannell.
*Per me* Thomam Lenard.
*Per me* Robertum Stanton.
*Per me* Willielmum London.
*Per me* Adamum Barker.
*Per me* Nicolaum Myller.
*Per me* Edmundum Wodcoke.
*Per me* Andream Tuke.
[fol. 16 d.] *Per me* Lancelatum Thexton.
*Per me* Willielmum Rouskoull.*

Feb. 12, 1713.
Examined[84] by
Thom. Tanner.

[84] [This examination extended only to the first three names, which were all that the author printed.]

## Number IX.[85] [p. 214.]

*Ornatissimis viris doctori Sands, ac regentibus et non-regentibus achademiæ Cantabrigiensis A° 1553°, 1° Junii, 7° Edwardi VI^ti.*

ÆQUUM est, ut qui se literarum studiis dediderunt, et in veri inquisitione versantur, illius disciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum est utilissima, et ad judicandum cum verbo Dei convenientissima. Cum autem in redintegrandâ religione, 206 multum diuque regiæ majestatis authoritate, et bonorum atque eruditorum virorum judiciis sit elaboratum, et de articulis quibusdam in synodo Londoniensi anno Domini 1553° ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, conclusum: æquissimum judicavimus, eosdem regiâ authoritate promulgatos, et omnibus episcopis ad meliorem dioceseos suæ administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, et visitationis nostræ authoritate præcipere ac statuere de his, ad hunc modum. [Ex MSS. C. C. C. Cant.]

Singuli doctores et bacchalaurei theologiæ, et singuli præterea artium doctores, solenniter et publice, ante creationem suam, hoc jurejurando sequenti se astringant, et in comentarios achademiæ, ad id designatos, suâ ipsorum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus sui capiendi repulsam patiantur.

Ego N. N. Deo teste promitto ac spondeo, primum me veram Christi religionem, omni animo complexurum, scripturæ authoritatem hominum judiciis præpositurum, regulam vitæ et summam fidei, ex verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum. Authoritatem regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones, omni voluntate ac mente refu-

[85] [This paper has been printed in Dr. Lamb's Collection of Documents. Unfortunately it appears there almost without stops, though otherwise printed more accurately than most of the other documents in that volume.]

taturum; vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causâ antehabiturum; deinde me articulos, de quibus in synodo Londoniensi anno Domini 1553 ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat, et regiâ authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam consentientes cum verbo Dei defensurum, et contrarios articulos in scholis et pulpitis vel respondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste, me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

Tho. Elye Canc.
Gulielmus Meye.
Joannes Cheek.
Tho. Wendye.

## Number X. [p. 214.]

*King Edward's devise for the succession, written with his own hand.*

[*My devise for the succession.*]

Ex MSS. Petyt. [No. 538, vol. xlvii. fol. 317.]

For lack of issue male of my body, to the issue male coming of the issue female, as I have after declared. To the lady Fraunceses heirs males, if she have any[73] such issue before my death, to the lady Jane and her heirs males; to the lady
207 Katerin's heirs males; to the lady Marie's heirs males: to the heirs males of the daughters, which she she shall have hereafter. Then to the lady Marget's heirs males. For lack of such issue, to the heirs males of the lady Jane's daughters; to the heirs males of the lady Katerin's daughters, and so forth, till you come to the lady Marget's daughters heirs males.

2. If after my death the heir male be entered into eighteen year old, then he to have the whole rule and governance thereof.

3. But if he be under eighteen, then his mother to be governess, till he enter eighteen year old: but to do nothing without the advice and agreement of six parcel of a council, to be pointed by my last will, to the number of twenty.

4. If the mother die before the heir enter into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the council: provided that after he be fourteen year, all great matters of importance be opened to him.

5. *If I died without issue, and there were none heir male; then the lady Fraunces to be governess regent. For lack of her, her eldest daughters; and for lack of them, the lady Marget to be governess after, as is aforesaid, till some heir male be born; and then the mother of that child to be governess.*

6. *And if, during the rule of the governess, there die four of the council; then shall she, by her letters, call an assembly*

[73] [*for lack of* has been erased, and *if she have any* substituted for it.]

*of the council, within one month following, and choose four more: wherein she shall have three voices. But after her death, the sixteen shall choose among themselves, till the heir come to fourteen year old; and then he, by their advice, shall choose them.*

The last two paragraphs, and what is scored underneath, are dashed out, yet so as to be legible[74].

[74] [The device has been printed with great exactness in the Camden Society's volume, entitled 'The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary,' 4to. Lond. 1850. The volume also contains an exact copy of the 'Engagement of the Council and others to maintain the Succession as limited by the King,' as in Number XI. of these Records; and likewise a copy of the 'Letters patent for the Limitation of the Crown,' from the transcript of Ralph Starkey in the Harl. MS. 35, fol. 364; as well as 'King Edward's Minutes for his last will,' as transcribed by secretary Petre, edited from the same volume of the Petyt manuscripts from which this and the following document are taken. The author's note refers in *what is scored underneath* to the first paragraph, which however was not correctly printed, according to his representation.]

## Number XI. [p. 215.]

*The council's original subscription, to Edward the VIth's limitation of the crown; in these words:*

EDWARD,

We whose names are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord's earnest desire, and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesty's realms and dominions; and having seen his majesty's own device, touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after 208 copied out in his majesty's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesty's own hand; and by his highness delivered to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order: do, by his majesties special and absolute commandment, eftsoones given us, agree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honours, to observe fully, perform and keep, all and every article, clause, branch and matter, contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places: and all such other matter, as his majesty, by his last will, shall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the said imperial crown. And we do further promise, by his majesty's said commandment, never to vary or swerve, during our lives, from the said limitation of the succession; but the same shall, to the uttermost of our powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof; we, and every[75] us, do assent to take, use and repute him, for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realme; and to do our uttermost to see him

Ex MSS. Petyt. [No. 538, vol. xlvii. fol. 316.]

[75] [*of* om. in MS.]

or them so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. Winchester.

Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk.

W. Northampton.

F. Shrewesbury.

F. Huntyngdon. Penbroke.

E. Clynton.

T. Darcy. G. Cobham.

R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.

John Gate. William Petre Sr. Joan. Cheek.

W. Cecill. Edward Mountagu. John Bakere.

Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas.
John Gosnold.

## Number XII.[76] [p. 217.]

*Articles and instructions, annexed to the commission, for taking the surrender of the cathedral of Norwich.*

FIRST, the said commissioners shall repair to the cathedral-church of Norwich, declaring to the dean and chapter of the same, that the king's majesty's pleasure is, for diverse good and reasonable causes and considerations, to have the said college to be surrendered and given up into his majesty's hands; to the intent that the same shall be altered in such [Tanner MSS. xc. fol. 146.]

[76] [The Editor has been unable to find these articles in any of the books at Norwich. The following paper however is in the Treasurer's Register in Ledger No. 1. of the dean and chapter of Norwich, p. 291. It is not inserted in its proper place, as it follows some letters from queen Mary:

'To our loving friends the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Norwich.

'Letters for a surrender.

'After our right hearty commendations. Forasmuch as our late sovereign lord the king of famous memory, whose soul God pardon, in his life time of a most godly purpose, amongst divers cathedral churches and colleges to be altered and newly erected of his foundation, appointed the like alteration of that your college or cathedral church; you shall therefore understand that the king's majesty, by the advice of us the lord protector and other his highness' privy council, intending the advancement of God's glory, the true intent of his dearest father's determination, hath at this present addressed sir Rychard Southwell, sir Roger Touneshend, and sir William Paston, knights, and other commissioners, to take the due and full surrender of you and the old chapter; and as we doubt not your ready and right humbly conformity therein, so we assure you that every of you the dean and prebendaries, shall yearly, during your lives, receive like profit and commodity as you and they have done heretofore, the said alteration notwithstanding. And for the residue of the ministers there, such present order by your advices shall be taken as you and they shall have just cause of contentacion. Requiring you to give further credit to the commissioners, and to participate these in such direct and honest form, that willingly the said surrender may be made, whereby the sequel may be accomplished and take the full perfection of the late king his godly purpose. Thus fare you heartily well.

'At London the 26$^{tie}$ of Maye, 1547.

'Your loving friends,

'E. Somerset, J. Russell, J. Warwyk, Antony Wyngfylde, Willm. Paget, Ric. Ryche, Edward Northe.']

good and godly wise, as the king that dead is, (whose soul 209
God pardon) amongst other his godly purposes and intents, and the king's majesty that now is, by the advice of his honourable council, hath determined. And that they shall practise and conclude with them, for and in his highness's name, for the same surrender, to be had, done and performed, in such manner and form as by their discretions shall be thought most[77] reasonable and convenient.

2. And after the said surrender, and gift made of the said college, and of all lands, tenements, hereditaments and possessions of the same, by the dean and chapter thereof, to the use of the king's highness, according to a deed and writing, devised and delivered to the said commissioners for that purpose; the said commissioners to take order, with the dean and prebendaries, canons, and all other officers and ministers of the said cathedral-church, that they shall be, remain, continue and minister there, in such sort as they do, until the alteration of the said church shall be made perfect. Declaring further to the same dean, prebendaries and canons, that they, and every of them, shewing themselves willing and conformable, according to the king's majesty's commission, shall, from the time of the said surrender, have as much in profit and commodity, for and towards their living, as they had before the same surrender, in such wise, as they shall have good cause to be well satisfied and contented.

3. Also the said commissioners shall make an inventory of all the plate and jewels, ornaments, goods and chattels of the said cathedral-church, and deliver the same to the dean and prebendaries, by bills indented: and the said commissioners are to take order with them that the same may continue, remain, and be used there, until the new erection of the said church, to the intents and purposes that they were ordained for: and declaring further, that the same shall be assigned and given to them, upon the new erection and foundation of the said cathedral-church.

4. Also the said commissioners, calling to them the officers and ministers of the said cathedral-church, shall cause a perfect book, rental or value, to be made, of all the possessions, as

[77] [The word *most* has been repeated twice in the copy, probably by accident.]

well spiritual as temporal, of the same church, with the rents resolute, and deductions of the same: and also to note and certify the decays thereof, if any be: and to cause the same rentals book or value, to be certified and delivered into the court of augmentations and revenues of the king's majesty's crown, with as convenient speed as it may be done.

5. *Item*, The said commissioners are to do and execute all such other things as they shall think convenient and necessary, and[78] full accomplishment of this commission; and to certify the truth and circumstance of the same, together with this commission.

*Vera Copia*,

H. Prideaux[79].

[78] [This is the reading of the copy. The author had altered it into *to the*]

[79] [There is no doubt another volume at Norwich which the editor has been unable to find, which contains a third copy of the letters for a surrender, with the articles and instructions as in the text. There is a second copy of the letter without the instructions in the Archdeacon's Register, fol. 210. The text of the articles has been corrected from Prideaux's transcript in the Tanner Collection, which was the copy from which the author printed. Prideaux's copy of the letter on the preceding note was plainly from a different copy, as it gives the signatures of Edward Somerset, John Russel, J. Warwick, T. Seymour, R. Rich, Antony Wingfield, William Paget, E. North.]

## Number XIII. [p. 226.] 210

*An original letter of queen Mary's to king Philip, before he wrote to her.*

Monsieur, mon bon et perpetuel allie:

Cotton library. [Vesp. F. iii. art. 24. fol. 19.]

Entendant que lambassadeur de lempereur, monseigneur et bon pere, resident les moy depeschoyt le porteur de cestes deuers vostre haultesse. Encores que ne mayes particulierement escript dois que nostre alliance à este traictee. Si est ce me sentant tant obligee, de la sincere et vray affection que me portes, quaues confermee, tant par les effectz, que par les lettres escriptes audict Ambassadeur, et par la negociation que le Sieur degmont et aultres, et lambassadeur de mondict seigneur ont traicte. Je nay peu delaisser vous tesmoigner le vouloyr et debuoyr, que jay de vous correspondre a jamais: et vous mercie treshumblement tant de bons offices, et joyncte-ment vous aduertis, que le parlement, qui represente les estatz du mon royaulme, à appreuve les articles de nostre maryage sans contradiction, coñe treuvant les condicions dicelluy honorables, aduantaigeuses, et plusque raisonnables, que me meet en entiere confidence, que vostre venue par deca sera seure et agreable. Et esperant de brief suplier le surplus verbalement, Je feray fin aux presentes; priant le createur qui vous doint, monseigneur, mon bon et perpetuel allie, faire vostre voyage par deca en prosperite et sante. Me recoñen-dant tresaffectueusement et humblement a vostre haultesse.

A Londres, le xx[e] d'april.

vostre entierement,
Assuree, et plus obligee
allie,
MARYE[80].

[80] [This letter which is holograph has been printed exactly as it stands. As it is written in a very large and legible hand, there is no doubt about its representing the very words the queen wrote, spelt and accented as they are in the original. A translation of it has been given in Wood's Letters, vol. iii. p. 290.]

## Number XIV. [p. 228.]

*Queen Mary's letter to the earl of Sussex, to take care of elections to the parliament.*

MARY the Queen.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved cousin, we greet you well. And where for diverse causes, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory, and the commonwealth of this our realm, 211 we have thought convenient to call our high court of parliament to the 12th of the next month, as by our writ of summons, sent unto you for that purpose, ye may at better length perceive; like as for your own part, we doubt not but ye will be ready to assist us with your best advice and counsel for the furtherance of our good purpose, in such matters as are to be treated of in our said parliament; so to the end the same may be more gravely debated, and circumspectly handled,

Ex MSS. Petyt. 81.

[81] [The editor cannot find this letter in the Petyt MSS., but there is one of so similar a description in the Tanner Collection, XC. fol. 211, of a later date, that it has been thought well to insert it here:—

'*By the quene.*

'Marye the quene,

'Trusty and well beloved we greet you well.

'And whereas for certain great and weighty causes, touching both the honor of Almighty God and the good government and wealth of this our realm, we have summoned our high court of parliament to be holden at Westminster the 20th of Jany. next: forasmuch as we consider that a great part of the furthering of such things as shall be treated in our said parliament, bringing them to good effect, shall consist in the well appointing and choosing of such as shall be knights of the shires and burgesses of cities and other towns corporate: We have thought good specially to require you to have good regard within the limits of sheriefwike in this behalf, and by all the ways and means you can, so far forth as in you may lie, to provide that such as shall be appointed to be either knights of the shire or burgesses of any city or other town corporate, be taken as near as may be of the inhabitants of the city or town for which they are chosen, and that they be men given to good order, catholic and discreet: whereby as you shall do good service unto God and this your country; so shall you also do unto us right acceptable pleasure, which we will consider towards you as occasion may serve.

'Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James', the 10th day of December, the fourth and fifth year of our reigns.']

to the honour of Almighty God, and general commodity of our loving subjects, we have thought convenient specially to require and pray you to admonish on our behalf such our good and loving subjects as, by order of our writs, have the election of knights, citizens, or burgesses, within our rule, to choose of their inhabitants, as being eligible, by order of our laws, may be of the wise, grave, and catholic sort; such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth. The advancement whereof we, and our dear husband the king, do chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any particular man's possession, as amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes, and favorers of heresies, do utterly report. And to the end we may the better confer with you about these matters that are to be treated of in our said parliament, our pleasure is, you do put your self in a readiness to make your repair hither, so as ye may be with us against the feast of All-Saints at the furthest.

Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 6th of October, the IId year of our reign[81].

[81] [Another letter of similar import which Strype speaks of as a circular addressed to all the sheriffs, and which refers to this same parliament which is the third parliament of the reign, and commonly called the parliament of the first and second of Philip and Mary, is given in the Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. iii. p. 155, from MSS. Ecclesiast. Strype has unfortunately omitted the date.]

## Number XV. [p. 229.]

*Cardinal Pole's first letter*[82] *to queen Mary.*

BENEDICTA manus omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solum majesta- Ex MS.
tem tuam in alto throno, et possessione[83] regni collocavit; (quod penes me.
multos[84] annos ad eam spectabat, et ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atque inter sacras preces petebatur a divinâ clementiâ:) sed etiam eo res deduxit, ut non modo res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes animos incredibili lætitiâ perfundat, et precipue pium animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est, prope cum magna clades esset timenda propter fraudes adversariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissimâ successione privandam; atque cum propter longum spacium sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexendas, putârant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in animis mortalium, effectum est divinâ providentiâ, ut brevi momento temporis irriti ac delusi sint omnes mortalium apparatus: ita conversi sunt, qui humanæ
212 malitiæ[85] militabant, ad protegendum honorem Dei, majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius regni salutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua majestas nullis externis viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecti, potuerit regnum ita usurpatum adversus tantam hominum malitiam et potentiam recuperare; aut siquis rogaret, quo modo factum est istud? Res ipsa respondere poterit; Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda hominum, qui eâ ratione tibi regnum restituere voluit; atque hoc uno exemplo non solum vestris populis, sed universis Christianis, et barbaris nationibus manifestum fit, quia nullum sit consilium, nec prudentia, nec fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, et quod excelsus dominetur[86], in regno hominum, et cui voluerit, et quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus divinæ providentiæ in rebus humanis credulitas

[82] [The first part of this letter is printed in Quirini, par. iv. p. 428, from Raynaldus, xxi. 501, who refers for this part of the letter to Natal. Comit. l. 7. The variations, excepting where one or other of the copies is manifestly wrong, are given at the foot of the page.]

[83] [*in possessione*] [84] [*per multos*]
[85] [*militiæ*] [86] [*dominatur*]

(præcipuum nostræ religionis fundamentum) si unquam in istud regnum introduci, et confirmari debuit, per ullam manifestam experientiam; hoc maxime tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam authoritatem, ita erat in animis hominum debilitata et in eorum animis præsertim, qui prudentiores, sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum divinæ itaque bonitati placuerit[87], ita evidentibus signis suam potentiam in tuâ majestate extollendâ, tunc cum a suis inimicis, et a multis aliis prorsus[88] oppressa putabatur, declarare; hoc est cur maxime omnes boni, et pii glorientur, et quod tibi magis gratum esse certo scio, quam regiam dignitatem. Atque, si ulla fæmina debuit Deum laudare iis verbis suæ sanctissimæ matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea usa est ad exprimendam lætitiam propter divinam providentiam ad sui, humanique generis salutem, cum Spiritu Sancto repleta inquit, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum,* cum iis quæ sequuntur; tua majestas justissimâ de causâ eum Psalmum canere potest; cum in se ipsa sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut[89] divina bonitas *respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ:* et[90] *fecit potentiam in brachio suo,* statim *deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.* Hoc dictum de divinâ providentiâ erga majestatem tuam semper manifestius in administratione cognoscetur tuâ, cum incremento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem et laudem divinæ majestatis. Enimvero mea[91] erga Deum, et suam ecclesiam pietas, et erga majestatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi[92]; quod est cum[93] ita singulare beneficium a Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres e quibus radicibus perturbationes pullulârint, rerum ad justitiam pertinentium et ad veræ religionis cultum[94]; quippe cum illæ indies cum tantâ ruinâ succreverint, in isto regno privata et publica, quanta non ignorantur[95]: atque si hoc ita

[87] [*placuit*] [88] [*penitus*]
[89] [*et ut*] [90] [*et* om.]

[91] [From *Mea erga Deum* to the end of the letter appears in Quirini, vol. iv. p. 116, Ep. 43; also in Sanders, p. 338, ed. Rom. 1586, with which it has been collated. The variations from this place are so numerous as hardly to be explicable on any principle. They are given in notes at the bottom of the page. It is remarkable that for this portion of the letter Raynaldus refers to Sanders, lib. ii. p. 2. The three copies all exactly agree.]

[92] [*ac erga majestatem tuam pietas me cogit unum in hoc regni tui initio tibi in memoriam revocare*]

[93] [*ut cum*]

[94] [*perturbationes rerum ad justitiam et ad veræ Religionis cultum pertinentium pullulârint*]

[95] [*in isto regno cum tantâ ruinâ succreverint tam publicâ quam privatâ quanta non ignoratur.*]

feceris; percipies profecto principium et causam omnium malorum tunc pullulâsse, cum perpetuus humani generis adversarius patri tuo persuasit impurum consilium; ut divortium fieret matris tuæ optimæ reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te, in seipsum injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, quod a matre Spiritus[96] divortium fecit omnium Christianorum; a sanctâ catholicâ obedientiâ et ab apostolicâ reverentiâ. Ex hoc iniquo et impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita regnum[97] corruperint, ut nullum neque justitiæ neque[98] religionis vestigium apparuerit: tanquam relegatæ[99] sint ambæ, quando reverentia, et obedientia ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque
213 prius sunt redituræ, quam divina obedientia in animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui omnium viventium plura, et ista[1], majestatis vestræ causâ passus est: neque ullam defendendæ causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quo toties[2] molestiis sublevarem. Quod nisi mei labores eum finem consecuti sint[3], quem semper desideravi; sæpius vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens; tamen[4] nunc multo[5] magis lætor, quam si ipse adjutor fuissem; cum apertissime cognoverim, divinæ providentiæ in majestatem tuam propensam voluntatem: nam profecto noluit Deus ullâ humanâ[6] manu te adjuvari, neque[7] Cæsaris, neque ullius principis: quamvis nunquam cessavit pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam adhortari[8]: neque mea defuit diligentia, utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitantibus[9], sed divinitus res protracta est donec statutum tempus a Deo adventârit, quo divinâ manu sublevareris. Interim usus est Deus eâdem ratione, quâ erga carissimos et dilectissimos uti consuevit, quos nutrit, et educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere: ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde ipsorum[10] posset extendere, meliusque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam felicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major occasio concessa est dotes animi tui, quæ

96 [*Spiritus* om.]
97 [*regnum ubique*]
98 [*neque veræ*]
99 [*relegatæ enim*]
1 [*qui plurima et ista et*]
2 [*te tuis*]
3 [*Quod si mei labores eum finem consecuti non sunt*]
4 [*certe*]
5 [*eâ de re multo*]
6 [*illâ humanâ te manu*]
7 [*neque Pontificis neque*]
8 [*cohortari*]
9 [*sollicitandis*]
10 [*tuo*]

divinitus tibi concessæ sunt, a teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multo etiam magis impellit, ut majestati tuæ id significem de re tantâ, quanta est ecclesiæ obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quam antea, quâ mente sis erga religionem, et quo pacto affecta: nam cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distem ab urbe Româ, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum; per[11] literas summi pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectam, et quod ego sim[12] delectus[13] legatus a sanctâ sede apostolicâ ad majestatem tuam et ad Cæsarem, atque[14] ad Galliarum regem, ut tibi gratularer pro victoriâ Dei in hâc causâ ipsius Dei: sed quia quanti res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: cujus causâ præsentem nuncium cum meis literis mitto: neque istud quidem, quia de optimâ voluntate tuâ subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam, erga Deum fuisse cognovi, et acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observantissimam, inter quas obedientia apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui maxime omnium favere debes. Nam certe quidem majestatis tuæ pater nullâ aliâ de causâ apostolicam obedientiam reliquit, nisi quia nollet pontifex Romanus causæ suæ favere[15] turpi et iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantaque malitia conata est evellere ex animis hominum penitusque restinguere hanc ipsam obedientiam et observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex te ipsâ percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura[16] ad ipsius vicarii Christi legatione perfungendum, idque ad istius regni beneficium et consolationem, cujus felicitas et quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex quo sancta obedientia expugnari cœpta est, coactaque solum vertere. Decrevi igitur prius responsum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optime respondeat, ab omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de majestate tuâ conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, et incrementum fælicitatis tuæ, et istius regni. 214
Quod si mihi benignam audientiam concesseris, spero futurum Dei optimi maximi beneficio, ut intelligas in hâc ipsâ obedientiâ ecclesiæ consistere, et collocatum esse fundamentum et stabilimentum omnium bonorum ipsius regni.

[11] [*et per*]
[12] [*quod ego sim* om.]
[13] [*electus*]
[14] [*et*]
[15] [*favens*]
[16] [*futura* om.]

Sic igitur rogans omnipotentem Deum, ut pro suâ infinitâ misericordiâ majestatem tuam fortunet in ipso imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciam dicendi[17].

Cœnobio[18] Megazeni Benaci. Eidus[19] Sextilis. 1553.

Reginaldus Polus[20].

[17] [*scribendi faciam*]

[18] [*E. Cœnobio*]

[19] [*Idibus.*]

[20] [The *Bulla legationis de latere* is in Pole's Register, fol. 4 d. dated Non. Aug. 1553. It was printed from the Register in Collier, vol. ii. N°. 73, and in 'Specimen of Errors,' p. 179. It appears also with the title *Bulla institutoria Cardinalis Poli Legati* in the Appendix to Tierney's edition of Dodd's Church History, p. cviii. N°. XXII, professedly from MS. in the editor's possession. The latter appears to be the more correct copy. In the same volume are printed the *Bulla facultatum extraordinariarum Cardinalis Poli,* and an extract *Ex bullâ facultatum Communium Cardinalis Poli;* as also the *Bulla Confirmatoria facultatum Cardinalis Poli,* all of the same date.]

## Number XVI.[21] [p. 230.]

*The queen's answer to it.*

OPTIME sobrine Pole, in Christo observandissime;

Accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, ex quibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc regnum, patriam tuam nimirum, et erga legitimos hæredes, cum summa lætitiæ significatione ob ea, quæ placuerunt divinæ clementiæ omnipotentis Dei in ostendendâ suâ erga me verâ, justissimâ, infinitâque misericordiâ; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere sentio, cum monitus amantissimos[22] præterea in literis addideris. Quod si nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certe maximum intercedit; tamen vel hâc unâ[23] de causâ maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amanter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe cum neque unquam fuerim, nec sim, neque ut divinæ misericordiæ confido, unquam futura sim catholicæ adhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam obedientiam, et debitam observantiam erga sponsam Christi, et matrem divinam, suam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commode docere: is enim poterit explanare quanta sit animi mei molestia, propterea quod non possim animi mei sententiam in hâc re prorsus patefacere; sed cum primum data erit facultas sinceritatis animi mei erga divinum cultum explicandæ, obedientiæque[24] quid sentiam exequendæ, faciam te[25] per literas certiorem.

Quod spectat ad coronationem, idem nuncius omnia plane explicare poterit, multaque alia quibus illum adesse volui; cum mirifice omnipotentis Dei misericordiâ confidam, futurum ut hæc comitia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce regni semina pullulârunt. Spero autem futurum ut

[21] [This letter also appears in Quirini, iv. 429, as taken from Raynaldus, xxi. 503, with which it has been collated.]

[22] [*monita amantissima*]

[23] [*unâ hâc*]

[24] [*que* om.]

[25] [*te primum*]

delictorum veniam a summi pontificis clementiâ obtineam[26], cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillime gratias agas pro suâ multiplici in me bonitate, ut in eâdem persistat clementiâ, omnemque præteritorum commissorum oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur
215 remitto spe postulationis non irritæ futuræ operâ tuâ; quando tantum benevolentiæ, et fraternæ charitatis, mihi pignus obtulisti: me itaque plurimum sancto patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi.

Maria regina[28].

Westmonasterii, sexto
idus Octobris.[27]

[26] [*obtineant*]

[27] [1553.]

[28] [Two other letters from the queen to cardinal Pole, the first dated from London, Oct. 28, the other London, Nov. 15, 1553, appear in Quirini, iv. 119, and have been reprinted in the Appendix to Tierney's edition of Dodd, vol. ii. p. c. From the former it appears that there is one letter lost between the dates of Oct. 10 and Oct. 28. It is mainly occupied with stating the parliament's difficulty about abrogating the title of 'supreme head of the church;' and both this and the later letter recommend Pole to delay his passage to England for the present, and express a hope that he will soon be able to reach Brussels, the nearness of which place would be more convenient for communication between him and the queen. Pole's answer, which is dated Dec. 1, 1553, was written from Dillinghen.]

## Number XVII.[29] [p. 230.]

*Cardinal Pole's general powers, for reconciling England to the church of Rome.*

JULIUS papa III.

Ex MS. penes me.

DILECTE fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Dudum, cum charissima in Christo filia nostra, Maria Angliæ tunc princeps, regina declarata fuisset, et speraretur regnum Angliæ, quod, sævâ regum tyrannide, ab unione sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ separatum fuerat, ad ovile gregis Domini, et ejusdem ecclesiæ unionem, ipsâ Mariâ primum regnante, redire posse;

Nos te, præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, ac multâ doctrinâ insignem, ad eandem Mariam reginam, et universum Angliæ regnum, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, et unanimi consensu, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere destinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes et singulas utriusque sexûs, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas, seculares, et quorumvis ordinum regulares, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque statûs, gradûs, conditionis et qualitatis existerent[30], ac quâcunque ecclesiasticâ, etiam episcopali, archiepiscopali, et patriarchali; aut mundanâ, etiam marchionali, ducali, aut regiâ dignitate præfulgerent: etiamsi capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas forent: quarumcunque hæresium, aut novarum sectarum, professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorum errorem cognoscentes, et de illis dolentes, ac ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognitâ in eis, verâ et non fictâ, aut simulatâ pœnitentiâ, ab omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis, hæreses, et ab eâdem fide apostasias, blasphemias, et alios quoscunque errores, etiam sub generali sermone non venientes, sapientibus peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; nec non excommunicationum, suspensionum, interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis, ac tempora-

[29] [This document appears in Wilkins. from the edition printed in London, 1685.

[30] [*extiterint*]

libus, etiam corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis, in eos præmissorum occasione, a jure vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiam si in iis viginti, et plus annis insorduissent; et eorum absolutio, nobis et divinæ[31] sedi, et per
216 literas in die cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, conscientiæ videlicet, et contentioso foro, plenarie absolvendi, et liberandi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi: nec non cum eis super irregularitate, per eos, præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati, missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias ab ecclesiâ eatenus probatas et usitatas, celebrâssent, aut illis alias se miscuissent contractâ. Nec non bigamiâ per eosdem ecclesiasticos, seculares, vel regulares, vere aut ficte, seu alias qualitercunque incursâ; (etiamsi ex eo quod clerici in sacris constituti, cum viduis vel aliis corruptis, matrimonium contraxissent, prætenderetur) rejectis et expulsis tamen prius uxoribus, sic de facto copulatis; Quodque bigamiâ, et irregularitate ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum ordinibus dummodo ante eorum lapsum in hæresin hujusmodi, rite et legitime promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque et qualiacunque etiam curata beneficia, secularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodo super eis alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere: et non promoti, ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines, ab eorum ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonice conferrentur, recipere et retinere valerent, dispensandi et indulgendi: ac omnem infamiæ, et inhabilitatis maculam sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus et omnino abolendi; nec non ad pristinos honores, dignitates, famam et patriam, et bona etiam confiscata, in pristinumque, et eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi: ac eis, dummodo corde contriti eorum errata et excessus, alicui per eos eligendo catholico confessori, sacramentaliter confiterentur, ac pœnitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum confessorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem, et pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi. Nec non communitates et universitates, ac singulares personas quascun-

[31] [*apostolicæ*]

que, a quibusvis illicitis pactionibus et conventionibus, per eos cum dictis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorem, quomodo libet initis, et iis præstitis juramentis, et homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione; et si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent perjurii reatum, id etiam absolvendi, et juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque regulares et religiosos, etiam in hæresin hujusmodi ut præfertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ sedis licentiâ vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu, et excommunicationis [sententiâ], aliisque censuris ac pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incursis, pariter absolvendi. Ac cum eis ut alicui beneficio ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu; etiam in habitu clerici secularis, habitum suum regularem, sub honestâ togâ presbyteri secularis deferentibus, deservire, et extra eadem regularia loca remanere libere et licite possint, dispensandi. Nec non quibusvis personis, etiam ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus, et aliis anni temporibus et diebus, quibus usus ovorum et carnium est de jure prohibitus, butiro et caseo, et aliis lacticiniis; ac dictis ovis et carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui catholicus existeret, medici consilio, aut si loco- 217
rum et personarum qualitate inspectâ, ex defectu piscium aut olei, vel indispositione personarum earundem, seu aliâ causâ legitimâ id tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti et vesci possint, indulgendi et concedendi. Nec non per te in præteritis duntaxat casibus, aliquos clericos seculares tantum, presbyteros, diaconos, aut subdiaconos, qui matrimonium cum aliquibus virginibus, vel corruptis secularibus etiam mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, consideratâ aliquâ ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognitâ eorum verâ ad Christi fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præsertim clericis in sacris ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet uxores habere, scandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen altaris, ac alia sacerdotum ministeria, et titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis sententiâ, et aliis reatibus propterea incursis; injunctâ inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentiâ salutari, absolvendi, ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe conjugii, quod inter se matrimonium legitime contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum foret, licite remanere

possent, prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi. Ac quæcunque beneficia ecclesiastica, tam secularia quam regularia, et quæ per rectores catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen rectorum catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri beneficio ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu studio universali, vel scholis literariis uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, et proventus, seu bonorum eorundem[32] beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, et dismembrandi; ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum et dismembratorum partem aliis beneficiis, seu hospitalibus, vel studiis aut scholis, seu piis usibus, similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi et appropriandi. *Ac cum possessoribus* N. B. *bonorum ecclesiasticorum, (restitutis, prius si tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) super fructibus male perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi.* Ac quicquid concordiis et transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in ecclesiâ cujus essent bona, vel in studiorum universalium, aut scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios usus convertendi; omniaque et singula alia, in quæ in præmissis, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, et exercendi. Nec non catholicos locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas Deum timentes, fide insignes, et literarum scientiâ præditas, ac gravitate morum conspicuas, et ætate venerandas, de quarum probitate et circumspectione, ac charitatis zelo plena fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitatâ potestate, (absolutione et dispensatione clericorum, circa connubia, ac unione beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione, et applicatione, ac concordiâ cum possessoribus bonorum ecclesiasticorum, et eorum liberatione[33] duntaxat exceptis) substituendi et subdelegandi: ac diversas alias facultates, per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in formâ brevis
218 confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur.

Verum cum tu ad partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad regnum transfretatio existit, te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus nobis notis causis[34] inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac a nonnullis, nimium forsan scrupulosis, hæsitetur, an tu, in

[32] [*eorundem* om.] [33] [*liberatorum*] [34] [*rationibus nobis notis*]

partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis tibi concessis facultatibus, uti ac in eodem regno locorum ordinarios, aut alias personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas; quæ facultatibus per te, juxta dictarum literarum continentiam pro tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem literarum tenorem substituere et delegare possis;

Nos causam tuæ subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, circumspectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de licentiâ nostrâ moram traxeris, legatione tuâ prædictâ durante, etiam extra ipsum regnum existens; omnibus et singulis prædictis, et quibusvis aliis tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentes tibi conceduntur, facultatibus etiam erga quoscunque, archiepiscopos, episcopos, ac abbates, aliosque, ecclesiarum tam secularium, quam quorumvis ordinum regularium, nec non monasteriorum, et aliorum regularium locorum prælatos, non secus ac erga alios inferiores clericos, uti possis; nec non erga alias personas, in singulis literis prædictis quovismodo nominatas, ad te pro tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes; etiam circa ordines, quos nunquam aut male susceperunt, et munus consecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis episcopis vel archiepiscopis, etiam hæreticis et schismaticis, aut alias minus rite et non servatâ formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ impensum fuit: etiam si ordines et munus hujusmodi, etiam circa altaris ministerium temere executi sint, per te ipsum, vel alios, ad id a te pro tempore deputatos, libere uti; ac in eodem regno, tot quot tibi videbuntur locorum ordinarios, alias personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ facultatibus per te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, libere utantur; et eas exercent et exequantur: alias, juxta ipsarum literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare. Nec non de personis quorumcunque episcoporum vel archiepiscoporum, qui metropolitanam aut alias cathedrales ecclesias de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum, et præsertim qui de Henrici regis et Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, et eorum regimini et administratione se ingesserunt, et eorum fructus reditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri archiepiscopi aut episcopi temere et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in

hæresin ut prefertur, inciderint, seu ante hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati sanctæ matris ecclesiæ restituti exstiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbuntur, eisdem metropolitanis et aliis cathedralibus ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibusvis aliis cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illorum[35] præsulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria regina juxta consuetudines ipsius regni, tibi supplicaverit authoritate nostrâ providere ipsasque personas eisdem ecclesiis in episcopos aut
219 archiepiscopos præficere: ac cum iis qui ecclesias cathedrales et metropolitanas, de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum̃ ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis, in episcopos vel archiepiscopos præesse ipsasque ecclesias in spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare ac munere consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti; vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab episcopis vel archiepiscopis catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere et licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus præteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis ecclesiis in episcopos et archiepiscopos præfici et præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare: ac ad quoscunque etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines promovere, et in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite susceptis ordinibus etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare nec non munus consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti libere et licite valeant, dispensare etiam libere et licite possis, plenam et liberam apostolicam authoritatem per præsentes concedimus facultatem et potestatem: non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis literis præteritis voluimus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 8 Martii 1554. Pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

[35] [*illarum*]

## Number XVIII. [p. 231.]

*A letter from cardinal Pole to the bishop of Arras, upon king Philip's arrival in England, and his marriage to the queen.*

A Monsignor d'Arras.

Molto illustre e reverendo signor.

Havendo à quest' hora ricevuto particolari avvisi, dopo l'arrivo del serenissimo principe del regno d' Inghilterra, del felice successo del matrimonio, mi è parso convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con sua majestà Cesarea, siccome fo con l'alligata la quale indirizzo a vostra signoria per la confidenza che ho nella solita sua cortesia, pregandola sia contenta presentarla a sua majestà col baciarle riverentemente le mani da parte mia. L'abbate Sagante suo l' altr' hieri mi comunicò una 220
lettera di vostra signoria che dava particolar avviso della ritirata dei Francesi, il che mi fu di molta consolazione. Ben si è visto di quanta importanza sia la presenza di sua majestà. Ancor non è arrivato il messo mio da Roma, ma spero non possa tardar molto: subbito che sarà giunto, non mancarò di darne avviso a vostra signoria alla quale di cuore mi raccomando e prego nostro signore Iddio la conservi e favorisca al suo servitio.

Di Bruxelles alli 29[36] di Luglio 1554.

Reginaldo card. Polo.

[36] [A previous letter of July 22, from Pole to the cardinal de Monte, which is among the Vatican transcripts, announces the arrival of the prince on the 19th.

## Number XIX.[37] [p. 231.]

*A letter from cardinal Pole to the cardinal de Monte, acknowledging the pope's favour in sending him full powers.*

Al cardinal di Monte.

Reverendissimo e illustrissimo signor mio osservandissimo.

Scrissi a vostra signoria reverendissima per l' ultime mie, l' avviso dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del serenissimo principe, il qual' è poi stato con la serenissima regina a Vincestre, ove hanno celebrato il sponsalitio il dì di San Giacomo con gran sollennità come vostra signoria reverendissima piacendole potrà intendere dall' esibitor di questa, al quale mi rimetto in quel di più, che in tal proposito io le potessi dire, e bacio humilmente la mano di vostra signoria reverendissima e illustrissima in sua buona gratia raccomandandomi.

Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

In quest' hora è giunto l' Ormaneto con l' espeditione che è piacciuto darle alla santità di nostro signore, tutto secondo quello, che si potesse desiderare dalla pietà e benignità sua in servitio di Dio, e della sua chiesa in questa causa così importante del che prego vostra signoria reverendissima sia contenta baciarne humilmente a nome mio i piedi a sua beatitudine, alla quale con la prima occasione non mancarò di dar pieno avviso di quanto sarà bisogno. In vero l' arrivar dell' Ormaneto non poteva esser più a tempo, e spero che nostro signore Iddio ci farà gratia, che le cose s' indirizzeranno in modo che sua santità col servitio di sua divina maestà ne resterà consolata. Il tempo non patisce che per hora io possa essere più lungo, e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di vostra signoria reverendissima e illustrissima.

Reginaldo card. Polo.

Alli 29 di Luglio 1554 il signore Ormaneto arrivò a Bruxelles con l' infratta speditione.

[37] [This letter is printed in Leti, Vita di Elisabetta, tom. i. p. 246. There is also a copy among the Vatican transcripts.]

## Number XX. [p. 231.] 221

*A breve impowering cardinal Pole to execute his faculties with relation to England, while he yet remained beyond sea, and out of England.*

Al card. Polo.

JULIUS papa III.

DILECTE fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Superioribus mensibus ex diversis tunc expressis causis, te ad charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Mariam Angliæ reginam illustrem, et universum Angliæ regnum primo, et deinde pro conciliando inter eos pacem ad charissimos in Christo filios nostros Carolum Romanum imperatorem semper Augustum, et Henricum Francorum regem Christianissimum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis legatum de latere, de fratrum nostrorum consilio destinavimus. Et licet te multis, et quidem amplissimis facultatibus, quibus etiam in partibus Flandriæ existens, quoad personas et negocia regni Angliæ hujusmodi uti posses per diversas nostras tam sub plumbo, quam in formâ brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continetur: Quia tamen ob schismata, et alios errores, quibus dictum regnum diutius infectum fuit, multi casus potuerunt contingere, qui provisione per dictam sedem faciendâ indigebunt et sub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, et inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, et insuper a nonnullis hæsitatur an tu facultatibus hujusmodi in insulis et dominiis eidem Mariæ reginæ subjectis uti possis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum imperatorem et quibus apud Henricum regem præfatos existens utaris: nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrinâ, et prudentiâ, in Domino bene confidentes, et volentes omnem in præmissis hæsitandi materiam amputare, circumspectioni tuæ, ut ubicumque fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ legatione tuâ hujusmodi durante, omnibus et singulis tibi concessis hactenus, et in posterum concedendis facultatibus, quoad personas et negotia regni ac insularum et dominiorum hujusmodi per te vel alium vel alios[38] juxta ipsarum facultatum continentiam et

[38] [*alium aliquem*]

tenorem uti, ac omnia et singula quæ tibi pro omnipotentis Dei, et nostro ac ejusdem sedis honore, nec non regni, insularum et dominiorum prædictorum ad sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ, communionem, reductione ac personarum in illis existentium animarum salute, expedire judicaveris, et si ea in generali mandato et facultatibus tibi alias concessis non veniant, sed specialem expressionem et mandatum magis speciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, et exequi, nec non quandiu pro pace
222 hujusmodi tractandâ, vel aliis negociis nostrum, et sedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum imperatorem fueris, omnibus et singulis facultatibus olim dilecto filio Hieronimo tituli S. Matthæi presbitero cardinali tunc apud ipsum Carolum imperatorem nostro et præfatæ sedis legato de latere concessis, et in omnibus provinciis, regnis, dominiis, terris, et locis, sub illis comprehensis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum regem extiteris eis omnibus, quæ dudum dilecto filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum aureum diacono cardinali tunc apud Henricum regem eundem, nostro et dictæ sedis legato concessæ fuerunt, facultatibus, et in omnibus provinciis regnis, dominiis, terris, et locis sub illis comprehensis uti libere et licite valeas, in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si illæ tibi specialiter et expresse concessæ fuissent, apostolicâ autoritate tenore præsentium concedimus, et indulgemus, ac facultates tibi concessas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo presbitero, et Hieronimo diacono cardinalibus præfatis concessis, voluimus non obstare cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die 26 Junii 1554, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto[39].

Jo. Larinen'.

[39] [A very imperfect transcript of this document appears in Johnston's Assurance of Church Lands, p. 120, ed. 1687. It was made from the same copy as that in the text, and has enabled the editor to correct some mistakes in the author's copy.]

## Number XXI.[40] [p. 232.]

*A second breve containing more special powers, relating to the abbey-lands.*

JULIUS papa III.

DILECTE fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Superioribus mensibus oblatâ nobis spe per Dei misericordiam et charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Mariæ Angliæ reginæ, summam religionem, et pietatem, nobilissimi illius Angliæ regni, quod jamdiu quorundam impietate, a reliquo catholicæ ecclesiæ corpore avulsum fuit, ad ejusdem catholicæ et [41] universalis ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatam [42] Mariam reginam, atque universum illud regnum, nostrum et apostolicæ sedis [43] legatum de latere, tanquam pacis et concordiæ angelum, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti negotii confectionem necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas; atque inter alia 223
circumspectioni tuæ, ut cum bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessoribus, super fructibus male perceptis, et bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordare et [44] transigere, ac eos desuper liberare et quietare, ubi expedire posset [45], authoritatem concessimus et facultatem, prout in nostris desuper confectis literis plenius continetur: cum autem ex iis principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ [46] sedulitate et diligentiâ, rectâque et constante in Deum mente, tuo etiam in eâ re cooperante studio atque consilio, præfatum [47] reductionis opus in prædicto regno usque ad hanc diem

[40] [This has been collated with the copy printed in Raynaldus, tom. 33. p. 529, taken from Jul. iii. lib. brev. 8. sig. n. 2887, p. 456. The variations are placed at the foot of the page. It also appears in Wilkins's Concilia, taken from the copy printed in London, 1554. This latter agrees almost exactly with the text as originally printed by Burnet—making allowance for two or three misprints. It is printed in Quirini, vol. iv. p. 434, from Raynaldus.]

[41] [*atque*] [42] [*prædictam*]
[43] [*sedis apostolicæ*]
[44] [*et* om.]
[45] [*videretur posset*]
[46] [*Mariæ Reginæ*]
[47] [*prædictum*]

habetur [48], ejusdemque [49] præclari operis perfectio indies magis speretur; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res [50] esse dignoscatur, quo nos [51] majorem in bonorum ecclesiasticorum [52] possessionibus, in illâ superiorum temporum confusione, per illius provinciæ homines occupatis, apostolicæ benignitatis et indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus:

Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ nobis in Christo nationis recuperationem, et tot animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri sanguine redemptarum, salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri; more pii patris, in nostrorum et sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus, ad nos respectantium et redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; tibi, de cujus præstanti virtute, singulari pietate, doctrinâ, sapientiâ, ac in rebus gerendis prudentiâ et dexteritate, plenam in Domino fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque honorum ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quam im- N. B.
mobilium, in præfato [53] regno possessoribus, seu detentoribus, pro quibus ipsa serenissima regina Maria intercesserit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis, arbitrio tuo, authoritate nostrâ, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis ut præfata bona sine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi [54], omniaque et singula alia, quæ in his, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna fuerint, concludendi et N. B.
faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ [55] sedis, beneplacito et confirmatione, plenam et liberam apostolicâ authoritate, tenore præsentium, et ex certâ scientiâ, concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus literis, felicis recordationis Pauli papæ II. prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis ecclesiasticis, nisi certâ formâ servatâ, et aliis quibusvis apostolicis, ac in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis, edictis generalibus, vel specialibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, ac aliorum regularium et piorum locorum,

[48] [*habet*]
[49] [*que* om.]
[50] [*res* om.]
[51] [*quo magis nos*]
[52] [*ecclesiasticorum bonorum*]
[53] [*prædicto*]
[54] [*de bonis per eos occupatis ut prædicta bona sine ullo scrupulo imposterum retinere possint arbitrio nostro authoritateque nostrâ tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis dispensandi*]
[55] [*prædictæ*]

juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis aliâ firmitate roboratis, fundationibus, statutis et consuetudinibus, illorum tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 28 Junii 1554, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto[56].

[56] [Another letter of the pope's in answer to the queen's of April 7, is in Quirini iv. 435, dated 10 July, 1554.]

224 Number XXII. [p. 232.]

*A letter to cardinal Pole, from cardinal de Monte*[57]*, full of high civilities.*

Al cardinal Polo.

Reverendissimo e illustrissimo signor mio colendissimo.

Ritornando a vostra signoria reverendissima e illustrissima l' auditor suo con l' espeditioni, che ella vedrà, a me non occorre dirle altro se non supplicarla, che si degni mantenermi nella sua bona gratia, e di non si scordare d' haver quì un servitore che in amarla, e osservarla non cede a qualsivoglia altra persona, e che il maggior favore, che io sia per aspettare sempre da vostra signoria reverendissima e illustrissima sarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto quello, che mi conoscerà buono per servirla; il che sò d' haverle scritto più volte, e non mi è grave di replicarlo. Sua santita sta così bene della persona come sia stata da dieci anni in quà, ringratiato Iddio: e saluta e benedice vostra signoria reverendissima e illustrissima e le desidera, e prega ogni prosperità nelle sue negociationi importantissime, a tutta la Christianità, e io le bacio humilmente le mani.

Di Roma alli 15 di Luglio 1554.

H. cardinal di Monte.

[57] [There are no letters of this period given by Quirini, between cardinal Pole and the cardinal de Monte; but several letters of the earlier months of this year from the former to the latter appear amongst the Vatican transcripts; for an account of which see the editor's preface.]

## Number XXIII. [p. 232.]

*A letter from cardinal Morone to cardinal Pole, telling him how uneasy the pope was, to see his going to England so long delayed; but that the pope was resolved not to recal him.*

Al cardinal Polo.

Reverendissimo e illustrissimo signor mio osservandissimo.

Avanti la partita mia di Roma hebbi la lettera di vostra signoria reverendissima delli 25 di Maggio in risposta delle mie, che gli havevo scritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi avvisi del nuncio, doppo che vostra signoria 225
reverendissima fu ritornata alla corte dal viaggio di Francia, hebbi ancora l' altra del 28 del medesimo, con la querela Christiana, che ella fà contro di me, anzi per dir meglio con la dottrina che vostra signoria reverendissima con santa carità querelandosi m' insegna, sopra la quale non m' occorre dir altro, se non che ella ha gran raggione, et che io le ho fatto torto a scriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e spero che ella mi habbia perdonato; nell' altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occasione di guadagnar questa sua altra lettera, e dato a lei occasione di esplicarsi in questo modo in lettere come ha fatto, e ne ringratio Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che si sia degnata mandarmi lettera così grata, la qual potrà servire a più d' un proposito.

La prima del 21, fu in summa communicata da me a nostro signore parendomi necessario chiarir bene sua santità, sì per giustificatione delle ationi passate di vostra signoria reverendissima come per non lasciar, che sua santità stesse nella disperatione dimostrata già delle cose d' Inghilterra, e della bontà del mezzo della persona sua: e benchè sua santità non havesse patienza secondo l' ordinario suo di leggere, o di udir la lettera, nondimeno le dissi talmente la summa, che mostrò restare satisfattissima, e disse esser più che certa, che quella non haveva dato causa nè all' imperatore, nè ad altri d' usar con lei termini così estravaganti. E quanto alla revocatione di vostra signoria reverendissima, sempre persisteva che non si

potesse fare senza grand indignità sua, e dishonor della sede apostolica, e carico dell' imperatore istesso, e di vostra signoria reverendissima, e gran pregiudicio del regno d' Inghilterra: e benchè dicesse di scrivere alla Cesarea Majestà, nondimeno non si risolveva in tutto, com' anco non si risolveva nella materia delli beni ecclesiastici, sopra la quale sua santità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel riscrivere alla regina d' Inghilterra, e al prencipe di Spagna, come vostra signoria reverendissima haverà inteso da M. Francesco Stella, e intenderà hora dall' Ormaneto, il quall sarà portator di questa, e tandem vien' espedito in tutti li punti quasi conformi al bisogno, e al desiderio suo.

Io son venuto a star quì a Sutrio sin le prime acque d'Agosto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornerò a Roma. E le cause della partita mia vostra signoria reverendissima hora l' intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non essendo stato opportuno scriverle prima; non ho havuto altro scrupulo se non partirmi, restando il negocio, e l' espeditioni dell' Ormaneto così in pendente. Ma conoscendo la sufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' introduzione, che hanno quelli ministri di vostra signoria reverendissima giudicando, non potervi far di più di quel che già più volte haveva fatto, pensai che essi haveriano potuto supplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occorre al presente che io le scriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non è bisogno affaticarla in leggere mie lettere. Resta solo che Iddio conduca esso, e M. Antonio a salvamento essendo il viaggio in ogni parte da quì in Fiandra tanto pericoloso, doppo che io preghi, che sua Majestà divina prosperi e feliciti vostra signoria reverendissima, ad honor e gloria sua in quell' azioni, che ha per le
226 mani, come son certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi comandi al solito, perchè come ho detto, faccio conto, s' altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella possi haver risposta da lei, poter' esser di ritorno a Roma, e con questo faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buona gratia di vostra signoria reverendissima mi raccomando.

Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

Il cardinal Morone.

Al cardinal Polo.

## Number XXIV.[58] [p. 233.]

*A letter from Ormaneto to Priuli, giving an account of what passed in an audience the bishop of Arras gave him.*

A monsignor Priuli.

Clarissimo e molto Reverendo Signor mio.

Questa mattina assai per tempo io giunsi al campo, e ancor che io poco sperassi d' haver commoda audienza da monsignor d' Arras, standosi sul Marchiare, nondimeno l' hebbi con la gratia di nostro signore Iddio, assai commoda e grata, e fui gratiosamente visto da sua signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era stato commesso da monsignor illustrissimo. La risposta fu che l' imperatore haveva molto a cuore queste cose della religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancato d' aiutare questa sant' impresa, come ha sempre fatto in simili occasioni con pericoli fin della vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era stata il principio e fundamento del mio raggionamento, a lui pareva, che si fosse camminato alquanto prosperamente, non si sapendo altro doppo la venuta del rè d' Inghilterra, che la celebration' e solennità del matrimonio, e che pur sarebbe stato a proposito, innanzi che s' andasse più oltre, veder chè camino pigliavano le cose del regno, e che dovendosi dar conto a sua majestà di quello, perchè io ero stato mandato, esso giudicava necessario che si fosse venuto più al particolare circa due cose, la forma delle facultà d' intorno questi beni (che gran differenza sarebbe se fosse stata commessa la cosa o al S. cardinale, o alli serenissimi principi) e poi il modo che voleva tener sua signoria reverendissima circa questo assetto, e quì esso toccò che fosse stato bene vedere la copia delle facultà. A la cosa del tempo io risposi che per questa opera era sempre maturo, immò che non se ne doveva perdere momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendosi dar principio a quest' impresa col far capace ogn' uno di quello, che veramente fosse il ben suo, e persuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' officio spetta principalmente al signor

[58] [This letter is printed by Leti, vol. I. p. 248, with the exception of the conclusion from *La conclusione.*]

Legato, non si vede che a far questo il tempo non sia sempre maturo, soggiungendo che sua majestà non doverebbe mai
227 lasciar passar l' occasione di questa venuta del principe suo figliuolo in dar compimento a questa riduzione, perciò che facendosi hora, l' honor di questa impresa sarebbe stato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particolar delle facultà, dissi che havendo detto a sua signoria che questo assetto era stato commesso all' arbitrio di sua signoria illustrissima mi pareva d' haver satisfatto assai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora risoluto, non si potendo pigliare in una cosa tale alcuna risolutione se non sul fatto, e doppo che ella fosse stata presente, per la necessaria informatione di molte cose che corrono in questa materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che sua signoria reverendissima intenderà più lungamente alla mia venuta. La conclusione fù che esso non mancarebbe d' informar sua maiestà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in questo, e quì mi disse dell' animo che haveva sempre havuto d' aiutar queste cose della religione, e del desiderio che teneva di servir sempre sua signoria illustrissima ringratiandola che l' adoperasse io. Circa l' aspettar la risposta di sua majestà mi disse che non potendo esso fare all' hora questo officio per la partita del campo, io me ne venissi a Valentiano, dove havuta la resolutione da sua majestà mi farebbe chiamare : e che non mi pigliassi altro affanno di questo, e così me ne son venuto quà con questo disegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a sua signoria di far quest' officio, e posdimane non essendo chiamato ritornarmene a solicitare l' espeditione. Io ho voluto dar questo conto di quello che fin' hora è passato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che fossi stato aspettato, non si stesse in qualche sospension d' animo. Sua majestà sta gagliarda, e cavalca, e va personalmente vedendo l' esercito, e le cose come passano, il qual' esercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno è partito da dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, e è andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato Lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una legha, e più vicino al campo Francese, il quale questa mattina è partito da Crevacore e venuto una legha più in quà. Bacio la mano a monsignor illustrissimo e mi raccomando a vostra signoria.

Da Valentiano.

L' ultimo di Luglio 1554.

Ser' Nicolò Ormaneto.

## Number XXV. [p. 233.]

*The letter that the bishop of Arras wrote to cardinal Pole upon that audience.*

Al cardinal Polo.

Illustrissimo e reverendissimo signor mio osservandissimo.

Trovomi con due lettere di vostra signoria illustrissima, nella prima delle quali ella si rallegra della felice arrivata del principe nostro signore adesso rè d' Inghilterra in quel regno, e del consumato matrimonio. La lettera del medesimo per sua 228
majestà Cesarea ho data io medesimo, alla quale e piaciuto sommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente da vostra signoria illustrissima [confidatomi]. Dipoi arrivò assai presto il suo auditore portator di questa, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteso quanto vostra signoria reverendissima li haveva commesso di riferirmi sopra le lettere credentiali, che egli mi ha portato, di chè tutto ho fatto relatione a sua majestà Cesarea, la quale mi ha comandata risponderle quello che esso suo auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando sua majestà conveniente, che vostra signoria reverendissima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che consultato il tutto con quelli serenissimi rè, come fa con un corriero espresso partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro lo stato presente delle cose di là e quello che conforme a questo quel regno potria al presente comportare, acciò che inteso il tutto sua majestà possa meglio risolversi alla risposta che ella haverà a dare a vostra signoria reverendissima su quella che di sua parte ha proposto il detto suo auditore: non dubitando punto che come sua maestà e vostra signoria illustrissima hanno il zelo, che esse e ambidue i rè hanno alle cose della religione, che terranno per certo, che non lascieranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' esse nel regno: caminandovi con tal moderatione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non si troncasse per sempre il camino al remedio. E senza più a vostra signoria illustrissima bacio humilmente la mano.

Dall' esercito Cesareo appresso Buchain li 3 d' Agosto 1554.

Di vostra signoria reverendissima
humil servitore il Vescovo d' Arras.

## Number XXVI. [p. 234.]

*Cardinal Pole's answer to the bishop of Arras's letter.*

A monsignor d' Arras.

Molto illustre reverendo signore.

Dalla lettera di vostra signoria e dalla relatione del mio auditore ho inteso quanto e piaciuto a sua maestà farmi per ora sapere della mente sua, intorno il negocio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riservandosi a darmene maggior risolutione, quando haverà inteso da quelli serenissimi principi il presente stato delle cose di là, perilchè haveva spedito subbito un corriero; io mi sono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezzo di tanti, e si urgenti negocii della guerra, sua majestà habbia havuto tanta cura, e sollicitudine di questa causa di Dio, la quale quando sia ben conclusa, non dubito le porterà seco ogni buon successo in
229 tutto il resto; starò aspettando quello che piacerà a sua majestà di farmi sapere, poichè haverà havuto risposta d' Inghilterra, nè altramente pensai prima mi convenisse fare. E in questo mezzo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che così faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel regno questo tempo, nel quale sua divina maestà lo visita con la gratia sua, come son certo intendino benissimo i capi loro, acciò che non si habbia a dir contra di essi, *milvus cognovit tempus suum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus visitationis suæ*, ma havendo Iddio data gratia a quei catholici principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere et eseguir' a gli altri, quello che in questa causa con l' honor di sua majestà sarà di salute, e universal beneficio di tutti, spero che le maestà loro non siano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aspetta dalla pietà loro, essendo massimamente eccitati, e aiutati, e in ciò dall' authorità e prudentia di sua majestà Cesarea: havendo inteso che a vostra signoria saria stato di satisfatione veder copia del breve della facultà concessami da nostro signore circa la dispositione de i beni ecclesiastici, io glie la mando con questa, pregandola sia contenta farmi intendere della ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza sua verso di me, e della cortesia usata al detto mio auditore.

Dal monasterio di Diligàm, alli 5 d' Agosto 1554.

Reginaldo card. Polo.

## Number XXVII. [p. 234.]

*Cardinal Pole's letter*[59] *to king Philip.*

Al re d' Inghilterra.

Serenissime rex.

Cum maxime antea lætatus essem, cognito ex famâ ipsâ, et litteris meorum, optatissimo majestatis tuæ in Angliam adventu, et fælicissimis nuptiis, quæ cum serenissimâ reginâ nostrâ summo omnium gaudio et gratulatione celebratæ sunt: tamen[60] hanc meam lætitiam magnopere cumulârunt serenitatis[61] tuæ litteræ a domino[62] comite de Horne, cum is in castris apud majestatem Cæsaream remansisset, heri missæ ad me per nobilem virum Dominum de Sancto Martino majestatis tuæ domesticum, eumdem cui ego has ad illam perferendas dedi. Etenim expressam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, quâ majestatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi vere regii altitudine proficiscitur. Itaque ago majestati tuæ ob hoc benevolentiæ signum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametsi per alias litteras uberius hoc ipso officio functus sum, tamen iterum illi de hoc fælici matrimonio divinâ provi- 230
dentiâ, ut plane persuasum habeo, ad istius regni quietem conciliato, gratulor; idque eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram sibi pontificis maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum summo totius ecclesiæ gaudio, et istius regni salute[63].

Reliquum est ut majestati tuæ omnia obsequia, quæ illi vel

[59] [This letter is printed in Quirini, par. IV. Ep. LV. p. 161. The address and the signature do not appear there. The other variations, except where the author has manifestly misprinted, are noticed at the foot of the page.]

[60] [*tum*] [61] [*majestatis*]

[62] [*domino* om.]

[63] [*ut Majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi ad se patefaciat cum summo totius Ecclesiæ gaudio et istius regni salute, ut ei coram Pontificis maximi nomine quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, gratuler.*]

pro legationis munere publice præstare possum, vel jam ut[64] meo principi ac domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honoremque pertinebunt studiosissime semper præstabo. Deus Optimus Maximus majestatem tuam una cum serenissimâ reverendissimâ reginâ custodiat, ac diutissime felicem conservet.

Monasterio Diliga prope Bruxellas[65] 7 idus Augusti 1554.

Reginaldus Cardinalis[66] Polus.

[64] [*pro legationis munere publice præstare possum vel jam ut* om.]

[65] [*Ex monasterio Diligham prope Bruxelles*]

[66] [This letter is also printed, together with the letter to which it is a reply, in Leti, vol. I. p. 250. Leti's copy is evidently independent, but agrees for the most part with Burnet's. It is followed by another from Pole to Soto, dated from the same place, Sept. 2, 1554.]

## Number XXVIII.[67] [p. 235.]

*A letter of cardinal Pole's to the pope, giving an account of a conference that he had with Charles the Vth concerning the church lands.*

Beatissime pater,

È MOLTO tempo che non havendo cosa d' importanza, non ho scritto a vostra santità per non molestarla: facendole col[68] mezzo del mio agente intendere tutto quello che[69] occurreva; e benchè ora io non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi è parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggionamento prima havuto con monsignor d'Arras e poi di quel che ho negotiato con sua majestà. Monsignor d'Arras alli 9[70] che fu il giorno istesso che sua majestà tornò, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi[71] allora meco monsignor il nuncio, mi disse, che sua majestà havea veduta la lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso[72] questo negocio della religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua pietate, e anche per l' interesse, che ne seguiria da quel regno e da questi paesi per la congiunctione[73] che è tra loro: si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua majestà non accadea far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, e a trattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: sopra che sua maestà mi udiria molto volentieri. Io risposi che veramente non era da

[67] [Several of these papers from Number 17 to Number 30 were printed from the same originals as the following: 'A letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an account of cardinal Pool's secret powers: from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the Abbey lands. To which are added two breves that cardinal Pool brought over, and some other of his letters that were never before printed. London, printed for Richard Baldwin, in the Old Baily Corner on Ludgate Hill, 1685,' 4to. It consists of forty pages, and contains the letter, with the signature W. C. at the end of it, on p. 19. On p. 21 begins Number 17 of this Collection, after which follows Number 20. Then Numbers 28 and 30.]

[68] [*per*]

[69] [*che di giorno in giorno io intendero delle cose d'Inghilterra*]

[70] [8] [71] [*e trovandosi*]

[72] [*in*] [73] [*cognizione*]

231 dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua maestà, e che io ne era stato sempre persuasissimo. Ma che quanto pertineva all'officio mio per esser io stato mandato da vostra santità per far intender l' ottima sua mente verso la salute di quello regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorità sua potesser venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d' haver l'adito[74]: e che ad essi principi, quali sono sul fatto, e hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva far intendere gli impedimenti, che fussero in contrario: e tornando pur esso monsignor d'Arras che bisognava[75] che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto in quella della pace; nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne l' altra, per rispetto de gli interessi particulari[76]; perciò che questa è una causa commune e nella quale vostra santità e sua maestà Cesarea, e quei principi hanno il medesimo fine, e noi ancora come ministri. Confermo ciò esser vero quanto al trattar della pace, con dire in effetto in trattar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia[77] tornava a dire, che io dovessi pensare e raggionar in particolare, con sua maestà di quest' impedimenti. E monsignor il nuncio allora voltatosi a me disse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: e così al fine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli 11 poi nell' andar da sua[78] maestà, monsignor d' Arras tornò a replicarmi il medesimo; nell' audientia di sua maestà, nella quale si trovò presente monsignor il nuncio, e monsignor d'Arras, poichè mi fui ralegrato[79] con sua maestà, che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi delle molestie delle guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d' animo e di corpo fusse tornato più gagliarda e meglio disposta che quando si partì; in che si vedeva che il signor Iddio haveva preservata e preservava, a maggior cose in honor di sua divina maestà a beneficio comune. Sua maestà confermò sentirsi assai bene, e disse della indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: entrai poi a dire[80] della lettera, che io haveva scritte a sua maestà della

74 [*l' adito per poter venire a questo fine*]
75 [*a due che bisognava*]
76 [*privati*]
77 [*tuttavia* om.]
78 [*nell' andare a sua*]
79 [*prima mi rallegrai*]
80 [*a che poichè sua Maestà*

risposta che monsignor d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimettersi al breve. Ritorno di sua maestà quì, e dissi che se havessi a[81] trattar questo negocio con altro principe, della pietà del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua maestà, dimostrata da lei con tanti segni, e nella vita sua privata, e nell' azioni publiche, cercarei di esortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar, e favorir questa così santa causa. Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con sua maestà, e tanto più per esser in questa causa con honore d' Iddio, congiunto anco il beneficio di sua maestà e del serenissimo rè suo figliuolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per rimover gli impedimenti, che fussero in questo negocio[82]: i quali per quanto io poteva considerare sono di due sorte: una pertinente alla dottrina cattolica, nella quale non[83] poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente[84] alla fede nè poteva sanar altrimente questo male, che con introdurre di nuovo la buona dottrina. L' altro impedimento essendo de i[85] beni, gli usurpatori dei quali, sapendo la severità delle leggi ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar al obedienza della Chiesa, dissi che in questa parte vostra santità poteva, 232
e era disposta ad usar la sua benignità e indulgenza: e primo quanto alle censure e pene incorse, e alle restitutione dei frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, vostra santità haveva animo nell' una e nell' altra di queste due cose d' usar ogni indulgenza, rimettendo liberamente[86] il tutto: nè pensava d' applicar parte alcuna dei detti beni a sè, nè alla sede apostolica, come molti temevano[87]: benchè di raggione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie e danni ricevuti; ma che voleva convertir il tutto in servitio d' Iddio, e a beneficio del regno, senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: e confidandosi[88] nella pietà[89] di quei principi, voleva far loro quest' honore di far per mezzo del suo legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta e intercessione delle loro maestà, a quelle

*m'ebbe risposto che in vero si sentiva assai bene e ch' ebbe ragionato alquanto dell' indisposizione avuta in Arras entrò a dire*]

81 [*ritorno di quella e dissi che se avessi a*]

82 [*che fussero in questo negocio,* om.]

83 [*nella quale vostra santità non*]

84 [*che spetta*]

85 [*Nell' altro impedimento ch' è dei*]

86 [*rimettere liberamente*]

87 [*come quei tali hanno mostrato di temere*]

88 [*e oltre ciò confidandosi*]

89 [*benignità*]

persone che esse giudicassero degne d' essere gratificate, e atte ad ajutar la causa della religione. Sua maestà rispondendo ringratiò prima molto vostra santità mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente [90], e con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: poi disse che per gli impedimenti e occupationi guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negocio, come della saria stato il suo desiderio: ma che ora gli attenderia; e che haveva già scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte lo stato delle cose, e aspettava in breve risposta: e che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento dei beni; il quale esso per l' esperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perciochè quanto alla dottrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questi tali, non credendo nè all' una nè all' altra via: disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere così ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: e che se bene a lei io dicessi fin dove s' estendesse la mia facultà, non però [91] si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: e che sarà bisogno veder il breve della facultà, per ampliarla dove fusse [92] necessario: al che io risposi haverlo già fatto vedere a monsignor d' Arras, il quale non disse altro: e dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a sua maestà, che dovendosi come io intendeva e come sua maestà doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il parlamento, era d' avertire grandamente, che non si facesse senza conclusione nella causa dell' obedienza [93] della chiesa; che quando altrimente si facesse, sarebbe d' un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il mondo, e danno alla detta causa: e che se bene la regina a fare un così grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiuntione del rè suo marito, come che *non esse bonum mulierem esse solam*, se ora che Iddio ha prosperato e condotto al fine questa santa congiuntione, si differisse più l' esecutione di questo effetto, che deve esser il principio e il fundamento di tutte le loro regie azioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, nè a gli huomini [94]: e dicendo sua maestà che bisognava anco haver grand rispetto alla mala dispositione de gli inter-

[90] [*buona intenzione dicendo*]
[91] [*fin dove io fossi per procedere non però*]
[92] [*dove paresse*]
[93] [*concludere il ritorno all' obedienza*]
[94] [*restarebbe debita scusa nè appresso Dio, nè appresso gli uomini*]

essati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d' obedienza alla chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l' habito ancora[95] de i religiosi, voltatosi allora[96] a monsignor nuncio e in tal proposito parlando dei frati condotti di Spagna dal rè suo figliuolo, che fu consigliato far loro mutar l' habito, se bene cio non si fece, nè si conveniva fare: con dire anco[97] di quanta importanza 233
fusse il tumulto del popolo, e in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officii, che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da sì si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perciochè, gli interessati massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse[98] nel presente stato, con tenere e godere essi, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la risposta d' Inghilterra, col ritorno del secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi dì, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi, e conferissi di quelle cose con monsignor d'Arras[99]. Vostra beatitudine può con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sarà necessario, che quì si trattino le difficultà sopra questi beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza, quel di più che mi occurreria dirle vostra santità si degniera intendere dall' agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi[1] piedi pregando il signor Iddio, che la conservi longamente al servitio[2] della sua Chiesa.

Di Bruxelles alli 13[3] d' October 1554.

Reginaldus card. Polus[4].

[95] [*ancora* om.]
[96] [*allora* om.]
[97] [*anche* om.]
[98] [*vorriano che la continuazione*]
[99] [*Arras, è quel che sua Maestà mi farà intendere*]
[1] [*santi*]
[2] [*a beneficio della*]
[3] [14]
[4] [The notes to this document represent the principal variations in the copy of this letter which exists amongst the Vatican transcripts in the British Museum.]

## Number XXIX. [p. 236.]

*A part*[5] *of Mason's letter to queen Mary, concerning cardinal Pole.*

[Record Office, Foreign, May, Aug., Dec., 1554. vol. V. fol. 42.]

Cardinal Poole having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, the one for the meaning of a civil peace between the French king and the emperor; and the other for the helping to conclude a spiritual peace, as he termeth it, in the realm of England; perceiving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good mind doth desire, doth begin, as me seemeth, to be out of comfort: and being in manner clearly in despair of the one, if he receive not shortly some likelihood of the other, being weary of so much time spent without fruit, beginneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy. If he return without the seeing of his country, like as he shall return a sorrowful man, so shall the realm have lost the fruition of such an one, as for his wisdom, joined with learning, virtue, and godliness, all the world seeketh and adoreth. In whom it is to be thought, that God hath chosen a special place of habitation. Such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities above the ordinary sort of men. And whosoever within the realm liketh him worst, I would he might have with him the talk of one half hour: it were a right
234 stony heart, that in a small time he could not soften. If it be his fortune to depart, without showing the experience hereof in the realm, his going away shall be, in mine opinion, like the story of the gospel, of such as dwelt *in regione Geresenorum*, who upon a fond fear, desired Christ, offering himself unto them, *ut discederet a finibus illorum.*

[5] [The whole of the letter is epitomised in Turnbull's Foreign Series, p. 124. Art. 268; the editor has omitted to mention that the concluding part of the letter had been printed by Burnet.]

Thus, most humbly desiring your grace to pardon my bold and presumptuous meddling in matters passing my capacity, I commit the same to the tuition of Almighty God.

From Bruxells, the 5th
of Octobre 1554.

Your grace's
most humble, faithful,
and obedient subject,
John Masone.

*To the queen's most excellent majesty*[6].

[6] [Another letter to the king's confessor, Oct. 6, and another of Oct. 27, to the king, are in Quirini, Ep. 57, 58, and another to the king from Ghent, Nov. 16.]

## Number XXX. [p. 236.]

*A letter of cardinal Pole's to Philip the IInd,[1] complaining of the delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England*[59].

Serenissime Rex,

Jam annus est, cum istius regiæ domûs fores pulsare cœpi, necdum quisquam eas mihi aperuit. Tu vero, rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? atque ego hoc tantum respondeam, me esse qui, ne meo assensu regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me domo et patriâ expelli, et exilium viginti annorum hâc de causâ pertuli. An si hoc dicam, non vel[60] uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui et in patriam reditus, et ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque personam referens, qui summi Regis et Pastoris hominum in terris[61] vicem gerit. Hic est Petri successor; atque adeo ut non minus vere dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus authoritas et
235 potestas[62], cum antea in isto regno maxime vigeret ac floreret, postquam non passa est jus regiæ domûs ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet[63], ex eo per summam injuriam est ejecta. Is regias per me fores jampridem pulsat, et tamen quæ reliquis omnibus[64] patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita? ejusne [Quirini IV. 162. Ep. 56.]

[59] [There is in the British Museum (C. 25. c. 14), 'Copia delle lettere del Serenissimo Re d' Inghilterra e del Reuerendissimo Card. Polo Legato della S. Sede Apostolica alla Santità di N. S. Iulio Papa III. sopra la reduttione di quel Regno alla unione della Santa Madre Chiesa, et obedienza della Sede Apostolica.' It consists of six leaves, in very small 4to, without any date, place, or name.

The first leaf contains the letter of Philip to the pope, in Spanish, professing to be taken from the original in his own hand, dated from London, Nov. 30, 1554, with an Italian translation. Then comes the Latin letter from the cardinal to the pope, as in Quirini, dated on the same day. Then the *Supplicatio* of the realm in Latin, and the *absolutio* also in Latin.]

[60] [*vel* om.] [61] [*in terris* om.]

[62] [*et potestas* om.]

[63] [*postquam non passa est jus regiæ domûs ei adimi quæ nunc eam possidet* om.] [64] [*omnibus* om.]

pulsantis sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt sane, et quidem non minore cum admiratione[65] divinæ potentiæ et benignitatis erga ecclesiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit[66], cum ut est in Actis Apostolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciâsset Petrum quem rex[67] in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, et pro quo ecclesia assidue precabatur e carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei[68] cæterisque qui cum illâ erant, magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui nôrunt eos qui Petri authoritatem potestatemque in isto regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano imperio conjectos, et crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin etiam successorum Petri nomina e libris omnibus sublata in quibus precationes ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc nôrunt facta ad omnem memoriam Petri autoritatis a Christo traditæ penitus ex animis hominum delendam[69], qui fieri potest ut non maxime admirentur hoc divinæ benignitatis et potentiæ pignus ac testimonium: Petrum nunc quasi iterum e carcere Herodis liberatum, ad regiæ domûs fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanârunt, pulsantem stare. Et cum hoc maxime mirandum est, tum illud non minus mirum, a Mariâ reginâ domum hanc teneri: sed cur illa tamdiu fores aperire distulit. De ancillâ quidem illud Mariæ[70] scriptum est, eam Petri voce auditâ præ nimio gaudio sui quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitâsse: rem prius, ut[71] Mariæ aliisque qui cum eâ erant nunciaret[72], accurrisse, qui[73] cum primo an ita esset dubitâssent, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperuerunt, neque illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo et regnante.

Hic vero quid dicam de Mariâ reginâ, gaudione eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; præsertim cum ipsa Petri vocem audierit, cum[74] certo sciat eum ad domûs suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: cum admirabilem Dei in hâc re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per angelum, ut tunc Petrum e carcere Herodis, sed suâ manu eduxit, dejectâ portâ ferreâ quæ

65 [*minori admiratione*]
66 [*fuerat*]
67 [*rex Herodes*]
68 [*ei tum*]
69 [*ad &c. delendam* om.]
70 [*quidem Mariæ illius*]
71 [*ut* om.]
72 [*ut nunciaret*]
73 [*qui omnes*]
74 [*præsertim cum ipsa*]

viam ad regiam ejus[75] domum intercludebat. Scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero[76] timere; neque enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda[77] occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens, introduxerit, Herode præsertim mortuo, omnique ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis divina providentia quæ te[78] dilectum Petri filium et[79] ei virum destinârat, illam timore aliquo tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusque ad rem tam præclaram et salutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur? Equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ reginæ[80] conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam scripsi, sum interpretatus: ac propterea ad te nunc, virum ejus, principem religiosissimum, scribo, et abs te ipsius Petri Christi vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas[81] prorsus excutias: habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si dum te illa corporis sui[82] spon-
236 sum accerserit[83], cum non deessent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto principe illi conjuncto timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad se aperiat sponso animæ suæ, mecum una et cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti; qui præsertim tot et tam miris modis custodem ejus se, defensoremque esse declaravit[84]. Noli enim, rex, putare, me aut solum ad vestram regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum venisse; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero pulsans: nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem abiissem, querens et expostulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant mihi uni occlusas esse fores; sive una mecum solus Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum abduxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei præceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Petrus pulsare non desistat[85], utrumque scito ab ipso Christo

75 [*ejus* om.]
76 [*vero etiam*]
77 [*lætabunda* om.]
78 [*te Rex*]
79 [*et* om.]
80 [*reginæ* om.]
81 [*ut omnes timoris causas illi*]
82 [*corporis sui* om.]
83 [*accerseret*]
84 [*qui &c. declaravit* om.]
85 [*cujus &c. desistat* om.]

retineri[86], ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrûm aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Christum in hâc legatione, quâ pro ejus vicario fungor, mecum adesse: quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me nihil meum, me[87] non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo omnique studio quærere.

Tu vero, princeps catholice, cui nunc divinâ providentiâ et benignitate additum est alterum hoc præclarum fidei defensoris[88] cognomen, quo reges Angliæ apostolicâ Petri autoritate sunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium principum ad te legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur[89], solum successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio regni divinâ summi omnium Regis quam affert pace et gratiâ, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittas non multo magis Christi hâc in re metuenda esset offensio, quod ejus legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores[90] expectet, cum cæteri homines[91] qui multo post venerunt, nullâ interpositâ morâ[92], introducti auditique sint et honorifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hâc cunctatione admittendi legati a Christi vicario missi[93], vobis vestroque regno impendet, reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de eâ[94] re ad majestatem tuam[95] scriberem; quod officium cum tibi a me pro eo quo fungor munere maxime debeatur, id me satis persoluturum[96] esse arbitror, si his literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, *distulisti Christum tuum.* Is autem Christum differt, qui legatum missum, ab ejus vicario, ad requirendam obedientiam ecclesiæ, ipsi[97] Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus[98], non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu princeps, si cum accersitus fueris, ut pro munere regio viam ad hanc divinam obedientiam in tuo isto regno restituendam munias,

86 [*missum*]
87 [*me* om.]
88 [*defensoris fidei*]
89 [*congratularentur*]
90 [*foris*]
91 [*omnes*]
92 [*nullâ interpositâ morâ* om.]
93 [*admittendi legati a Christi vicario missi* om.]
94 [*eâ de*]
95 [*vestram*]
96 [*a me satis persolutum*]
97 [*idest ipsi*]
98 [*ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus* om.]

ipse alia agas[99] [antequam introducas quæ in actionibus tuis primum locum, tanquam petra in fundamento totius ecclesiæ tenere debet. Quod si super aliud fundamentum ædificare coneris, hoc tibi Rex prædico, atque ipsis Christi verbis denuntio: *Descendet pluvia, venient flumina, flabunt venti et irruent in domum illam, et cadet, et erit ruina illius magna.* Tu vero fortassis hæc times si statim super hanc petram ædificare inceperis vel si tu hoc non times, timent alii qui tibi a consiliis sunt; atque hæc est causa cur differas admittere quem Christi vicarius ad te misit, non tua, non Reginæ voluntas.

Itaque si Divinam iram a Regno tuo et a te ipso avertere studes, si tranquille et feliciter regnare cupis, hoc tibi ante omnia est agendum ut qui cum mandatis Pacis a Deo atque ab ejus vicario ad te missus venit, eum primo quoque tempore admittas. Plura non scribam ad te Religiosissimum Principem atque hæc etiam nimis multa videri possent, nisi temporis et officii mei ratio, pro eâ personâ quam nunc sustineo me longiorem in scribendo fecissent.

Quod reliquum est, Deum Optimum Maximum precor ut si in Divinæ suæ Providentiæ abysso prospiciat meum ad vos adventum ea quæ tibi et serenissimæ Reginæ, conjugi tuæ opto, commoda afferre non posse non hæc ille a vobis auferat, sed alium mittat, qui ea præstare possit; mihi vero abunde satisfactum erit, cum vestræ saluti et honori per quemcumque fuerit consultum pro quibus numquam desistam Deum ipsum precari, ut quemadmodum vos ad salutem et incolumitatem istius regni a se vocatos esse, multis jam signis ostendit, ita, quæ ad eam præstandam erunt necessaria, omnia vobis benigne suppeditet, ac suam erga vos gratiam perpetuo conservet, atque augeat.

Dat. ex Monasterio Diligham, prope Bruxellas 21 Septembris 1554.]

[99] [The author printed thus far. The rest of the letter has been supplied from Quirini.]

## Number XXXI.[2] [p. 237.] 237

*The lord Paget's and the lord Hastings's letter concerning cardinal Pole. An original.*

Paper-Office. [Foreign Mary Aug.—Dec. 1554. vol. v. Public Record Office.]

It may please your most excellent majesties to be advertised, that arriving here upon Sunday last in the forenoon, we had audience of the emperor's majesty in the afternoon, notwithstanding that the same had that day received the blessed sacrament, whereby we noted a great care in him, for the expedition of us hence again.

After due commendation made unto him by us, on your majesties' behalf, and the causes of our coming declared unto him with such circumstances, as by the tenor of our instructions, we have in charge to open unto him, he rejoiced very much to hear the same; and first giving unto you both most hearty thanks for your commendations, and then inquiring very diligently of your good prosperities and welfares, and specially (madame) of the state of your majesty's person, he roused himself with a merry cheer, and said, that among many great benefits, for the which he thought himself most bounden unto God, this was one of the greatest, that it had pleased him to hold his blessed hand over that realm; and so taking occasion to rehearse in what good estate and great reputation he knew the realm of England had been in the beginning; and afterward into what calamities the same fell into, much (he said) to his regret; he gave God thanks, not only for the great miracles, which he had showed upon your majesty to make you his apt minister for the restoring of that kingdom again to the ancient dignity, wealth, and renown, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so soon, so certain a hope of succession; whereof like as he hath cause for his part (he said) to rejoice and take great comfort, so hath all England greater cause to think themselves most bounden unto God, to praise him, and to serve him for the same. These tidings, he

[2] [This letter appears in Tytler's 'England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary,' vol. ii. p. 457, but with several errors of copying.]

said, of the state of your majesty's person (madame) with the report that we had made unto him of the great conformity, and whole consent of the noblemen, and others in their proceedings before your majesties, touching the receiving of my lord cardinal into England, and their earnest submissions to the obedience and union of the catholic church, were so pleasant unto him, as if he had been half dead, yet they should have been enough to have revived him again.

These and many other such like words he used to declare the joy and contentment of his mind, for the good success of this matter. In the managing whereof there, if anything (he said) should fortune, wherein his advice might be thought requisite, your majesties should not only find the same ready, but also any other thing that lay in him, which might serve to your honours, and the benefit of the realm.

To this when we for our part had joined such talk as to this purpose seemed to our poor wits convenient, declaring your godly dispositions in this matter, how much you reposed yourselves upon his great wisdom and experience, what con-
238 fidence you had in his fatherly love and friendly affections towards your majesties, and the benefit of your realms; we took our leaves of his majesty, and repaired forthwith unto my lord cardinal, whose gladness of our coming we shall not need with many words to declare unto your majesties; nor yet what speech he used to set forth, how much he was bounden unto your majesties for your gracious dispositions towards him, and how much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, for the bending of your hearts this way, for your majesties shall marry perceive the same more plainly by himself at his coming unto your presence. This under your majesties' corrections we may be bold to write unto you, that we believe verily that whensoever he shall be in England, the same shall fare the better for him, for he is the man of God, full of all godliness and virtue, ready to humble himself to all fashions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, not only to come into England in such sort as your majesties have appointed, not as a legate, but as a cardinal, and ambassador to your majesties, but in any other sort whatsoever it be, that your majesties will appoint; he assuring your majesties, that touching the matter of possessions, all things shall come to

pass, on the pope's behalf, in such sort as every man there shall have cause to be contented.

Yesterday night he took his leave of the emperor, and so did we also. This day he repaireth onwards his journey, to an abbey two miles hence, whither he hath used much to resort the time of his abode here. To-morrow at night to Dedermount; Thursday to Gawnte; Friday to Bruges; Saturday to Newporte; Sunday to Donkirk; and Monday to Calice; (for his weak body can make no great journeys) and his estate also is to be considered.

In this journey we shall not fail to do him all the honour and service we can, as well for that we take it to be our special charge, as for that also his great virtues have won us, and bind us to the same.

We have written now, besides our speaking at our passing by, to the lord deputy of Calice, for all things to be in a readiness for his transportation; so as we trust we shall not have occasion to tarry long there. And thus we besecch Almighty God to preserve both your majesties long, and long to live together to your own good contentments, and to the great comfort and benefit of us your poor subjects.

From Brussels the 13th of November in the morning, 1554.

Your majesties'

most humble, faithful,

and obedient servants,

William Paget.
Edward Hastings.

*To the king and queen's majesties.*

239 ## Number XXXII. [p. 238.]

*An original letter of Mason's, of a preacher that pressed the restitution of church lands.*

Paper-Office. [Foreign Mary Aug.—Dec. 1554. vol. v. Public Record Office.]

AFTER most hearty commendations, I have sent to my lords at this present the emperor's commissary's answer made at the diet, to a letter lately sent from the French king to the said diet, of the circulls of Germanye assembled at Francfort. And forasmuch as it chanced me at the closing up of my letter, to have the sight of another answer made to the said letter, by some bearing good will to the emperor's affairs, I thought good to copy it, and to send it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, it may appear it was made by some man, rather to assay his wit, and to declare his affection, than of intent to answer particularly the matter. It was this morning told me, by one of the emperor's council, who misliked much the matter, that a preacher of ours, whose name he rehearsed, beateth the pulpit jollily in England, for the restitution of abbey lands. If it be so meant by the prince, and be thought convenient so to be, then doth he his duty; but if contrarily it be neither meant nor thought convenient, it is a strange thing in a well ordered commonwealth, that a subject shall be so hardy to cry unto the people openly such learning, as whereby your winter works may in the summer be attempted with some storm. And were the thing fit to be talked of, yet were the princes and the council, who might remedy it, meeter to be spoken with therein, than the multitude, who thereby may receive an ill impression, and an occasion of lewd thinking, and lewd talking, and lewd doing also, if it may lie in their powers; and that is all, that of sowing these matters amongst them can ensue. These unbridled preachings were so much to be misliked in the ill governed time, as good men trusted, in this good governance, it should have been amended. And so may it be, when it shall please my lords of the council as diligently to consider it, as it is more than necessary to be looked unto. The party, methinketh, might well be put to silence, if he were asked, how, being a monk, and having pro-

fessed and vowed solemnly wilful poverty, he can with conscience keep a deanery, and three or four benefices? I hear, by the report of other ambassadors here, of the return of the realm to the unity of Christe's church, whereof all good men have much cause to rejoice. I would have been glad to have been able, at the least, to have confirmed the news by some certain knowledge: but being the ordinary of ambassadors of England, to know least of all others of the matters of the realm, I must content myself; trusting that, as I am informed, the ambassador there hath lost his name: for that it is not thought necessary the father to have an ambassador to the son, so shall with time, this office on this side being no more needful than it is, be discharged also. Or if mine abode shall be longer, then would I at leisure be a suitor to you, to be a mean for license to come over for three weeks, or a month, to see the king's highness, and to do his majesty my duty, and so to return. I mean herein no haste, but as matter and occasion may serve hereafter. Thus I commit you to the keeping of Almighty God.

From Brussels, the 12th day of December 1554.

Your own most assuredly,

John Masone.

*To the right honourable sir Wm. Peter, knight, king and queen's principal secretary.*

## Number XXXIII.[3] [p. 239.]

*Cardinal Pole's commission to the bishops, to reconcile all in their dioceses to the church of Rome.*

REGINALDUS, miseratione divinâ, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus cardinalis Polus nuncupatus, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam, Angliæ reges, et universum Angliæ regnum, de latere legatus; venerabili, ac nobis in Christo dilecto, episcopo Norwicensi, seu ejus in spiritualibus vicario generali, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Ex reg. Norwic. fol. 58. b.

Cum sanctissimus in Christo pater dominus noster, dominus Julius, divinâ providentiâ papa tertius, inter alias facultates, pro hujus regni, omniumque personarum in eo existentium, sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ[4] reconciliatione faciendâ necessarias, nobis in nostrâ hâc legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulserit, ut quoscunque in hæresium et schismatis errores lapsos, ab iis, et à quibuscunque censuris et pœnis propterea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contractâ dispensare, et alia multa ad hæc necessaria, seu quomodolibet oportuna facere; et hoc idem munus catholi-
241 cis locorum ordinariis, et aliis personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et literarum scientiâ præditis, demandare possimus; prout in ejus literis, tam sub plumbo, quam in formâ brevis expeditis plenius continetur;

[3] [This document and the following are so badly copied in the register at Norwich, that the editor has not represented the errors of the scribe, but has corrected them by reference to the copy of the same commission and instructions, directed to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which were printed in the 'Specimen of Errors,' p. 182, and with the copy printed by Strype in the Appendix to the Memorials of Cranmer, p. 187, Number LXXX, which was taken from the same register. Both Wharton's and Strype's copies were also full of errors of transcribing. Another transcript was made by the last editor of Strype's Cranmer, which is more correct. They have all been collated. Slight alterations in the spelling or transformation of words and manifest mistakes have not been noticed, but all other differences will be found printed at the foot of the page.]

[4] [*catholicæ* om.]

Cumque Dei benignitate, et serenissimorum regum pietate, regnum hoc universaliter, et omnes domini, spirituales et tem-
[fol. 59.] porales, aliæque personæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum est parliamento congregatæ singulariter primo, et deinde universum corpus cleri provinciæ Cantuariensis, et omnes ferè personæ singulæ[5] dictum corpus repræsentantes, coram nobis existentes, aliæque pleræque fuerint sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ, per nos ipsos reconciliatæ; speremusque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant; difficileque, et potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa multitudo per nos ipsos[6] reconcilietur;

Ideo[7] vices nostras, in hoc, locorum ordinariis, et aliis personis ut supra qualificatis, delegandas duximus. Circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus probitate, et charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, auctoritate apostolicâ, nobis, per literas ejusdem sanctissimi domini nostri papæ concessâ, et per nos vobis nunc impensâ, omnes et singulas utriusque sexûs, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas, seculares[8], et quorumvis ordinum regulares vestræ civitatis et diocesis personas[9], in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque statûs et qualitatis existant, etiam si capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas fuerit, quarumvis hæresium aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes; et ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes cognitâ in ipsis, verâ, et non fictâ, aut simulatâ pœnitentiâ[10], ab omnibus et singulis hæresium, schismatis, et ab orthodoxâ fide apostasiarum et blasphemiarum, et aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum, etiam sub generali sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; (de quibus tamen jam inquisiti, vel accusati, seu condemnati non fuerint,) et quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum, et aliis ecclesiasticis et temporalibus, censuris et pœnis, in eas præmissorum et infrascriptorum occasione, a jure vel ab homine latis vel promulgatis; etiam si in eis pluribus annis inseduerint, et earum absolutio, dictæ sedi etiam per literas in

[5] [*singulares*]
[6] [*per manus nostras*]
[7] [*Ideoque*]
[8] [*singulares*]
[9] [*personas seculares*]
[10] [The author here printed correctly from the Norwich Register, *potentiâ*, and placed in the margin] lege *pœnitentiâ*.

cœnâ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat in utroque, conscientiæ scilicet et contentioso fòro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti, vel accusati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro conscientiæ tantum, plenarie absolvendi et liberandi.[11]

Necnon cum eis super irregularitate, per eos præmissorum occasione contractâ, etiam quia sic ligati, missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contractâ; quodque irregularitate, et aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis ordinibus, etiam ab hæreticis et schismaticis episcopis, etiam minus rite, dummodo in eorum collatione, ecclesiæ forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum susceptione etiamsi juramentum contra papatum Romanum præstiterint; etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque, etiam curata invicem tamen se compatientia, beneficia secularia vel regularia, (dignitatibus in collegiatis, ecclesiis principalibus, et in cathe-
242 dralibus, etiam metropolitanis post pontificalem, majoribus exceptis) etiam a schismaticis episcopis, seu aliis collatoribus; etiam laicalis pietatis prætextu habitâ, auctoritate apostolicâ retinere, dummodo alteri jus quæsitum non sit, et non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros, et presbiteratûs ordines, a suis ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint, rite et legitime fol. 60. a.
promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica etiam curata, si eis alias canonice conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, ministrorum defectu, et ecclesiæ necessitatibus, utilitatibusque ita poscentibus dispensandi et indulgendi ac omnem inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem penitus et omnino abolendi.

Necnon in pristinum, et eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum ita ut omnibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, favoribus et indultis, quibus cæteri Christi fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti et gaudere valeant, in omnibus, et per omnia; perinde ac si a fide catholicâ in aliquo nunquam defecissent, restituendi et reponendi et redintegrandi, ac eis, (dummodo corde contriti, sua errata et excessus, circumspectioni vestræ, seu alicui alteri per eos eligendo, catholico confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur; et pœnitentiam saluta-

[11] [*absolventes et liberantes.*]

rem eis pro præmissis injungendam omnino adimpleant,) omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem et pœnitentiam, jure debitas arbitrio vestro moderandi, vel in totum remittendi.

Necnon quoscunque regulares et religiosos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque sedis apostolicæ licentiâ, errantes[12] ab apostasiæ reatu et excommunicationis, aliisque censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta incursis, injunctâ eis pro modo culpæ, pœnitentiâ salutari, pariter absolvendi: et super quâcunque irregularitate propterea, per eos contractâ, ac cum eis ut alicui curato beneficio de illud[13] obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu clerici secularis, habitum suum regularem sub honestâ togâ presbiteri secularis deferentes, deservire, et extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum nostrum, libere et licite possint, câdem auctoritate apostolicâ, ob defectum ministrorum, et alias prædictas causas, dispensandi.

Ac quoscunque qui in sacris ordinibus constituti, matrimonia etiam cum viduis et corruptis mulieribus de facto contraxerint, postquam mulieres sic copulatas rejecerint, illisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus, et excommunicationis sententiâ, impositâ eis pro modo culpæ, pœnitentiâ salutari, in formâ ecclesiæ consuetâ absolvendi.

Ac cum eis, postquam pœnitentiam peregerint, et continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super bigamiâ propterea per eos contractâ; ita ut eâ non obstante, in quibusvis susceptis et suscipiendis ordinibus; etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac alicui beneficio ecclesiastico, de illud obtinentis consensu, deservire; et extra tamen diocesim, in quâ fuit copulatus eisdem de causis dispensandi.

Necnon parochialium ecclesiarum tuæ diocesis rectores sive curatos, de quorum fide, probitate, circumspectione ac charitatis zelo, plena fiducia conspici[14] possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque sexûs suæ parochiæ personarum laicarum, tantum absolutionem, et ecclesiæ catholicæ reconciliationem, ut præ-
[fol. 61.] fertur, auctoritate apostolicâ, faciendam. Et si qui ex curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias idoneas et sufficientes personas, qui eorum vices suppleant 243
nominandi et deputandi quas sic per eas nominatas et depu-

[12] [*vagantes*] [13] [*illius*] [14] [*concipi*]

tatas in locum nostrum in præmissis absolutionibus, et reconciliationibus substituimus eisque vices nostras subdelegamus: plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolicâ nobis ut præmittitur concessâ, tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem: vosque in præmissis omnibus in nostrum locum substituimus, præmissis ac regulâ de insordescentibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, et omnibus illis, quæ in literis prædictis sanctitas sua voluit, non obstare, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque præsentibus in præteritis casibus locum habentibus et ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis.

Dat' Lambehith prope Londinum Wintoniensis diocesis anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, quarto calendas Februarii[15] pontificatûs sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Julii divinâ providentiâ papæ tertii, anno quinto.

Reg. Car^lis^ Polus, leg.
M. Antonius Faita, secr.

[15] [The date of the Commission to the dean and chapter of Canterbury is *Idibus Februarii*. The document is also given by Wilkins, Conc. IV. p. 136, with a reference to Harmer's 'Specimen of Errors.']

## Number XXXIV. [p. 239.]

*Articles of such things as be to be put in execution.*

E libro memorandorum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, et Jo. Parkhurst, ep. Norvic. in reg. prin. R. P. dom. ep. Norvic. fol. 56.

1. THE DIVORCE of married priests according to the canons.

2. The restitution of them by penitence, thereupon to recommend them to other dioceses as penitents.

3. To certify the exility of benefices, which for want of livings have no curates.

4. To certify the council of as many as they know to have taken into their hands the goods of the church.

5. To certify what chancels of benefices impropered* by some decay, as they need present reparation; and to signify therewith in whom the fault is.

* L. be so in.

6. Not to confirm any lease of any benefice, to the prejudice of the successor.

7. To cause the churches decayed with vacant fruits, goods ministered with what remaineth in the executors' names.

8. To interrupt them that eat flesh by pretence of dispensation granted by the princes.

9. To appoint such as dwell in sites of monasteries, to repair to some church for to hear the service.

10. To keep the register for burying, christening, and marriage.

11. A form of suit by laymen to receive their tithe in spiritual courts.

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*Instructions given by the cardinal to the bishops, and their officials.* 244

[fol. 56 d.] SINGULI DOMINI EPISCOPI, necnon officiales ecclesiarum quæ nunc vacant pro exequutione eorum quæ a reverendissimo domino legato sunt eiis demandata, ordinem qui infrascriptus est, poterint observare.

Primum vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli præsunt clerum, de hiisquæ sequuntur, instruere procurabunt.

De paterno amore et charitate quam sanctissimus dominus noster Julius papa tertius erga nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit serenissimam Mariam fuisse reginam declaratam, reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum cardinalem Polum de suo latere ad has partes legatum misit, ut regnum hoc tot jam annos ab ecclesiâ catholicâ separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errorem[16] lapsos consolari atque in Dei gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem domini legati adventu, quantâ lætitiâ et honore is exceptus[17] fuerit tum a serenissimis regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in proximo parliamento acta et conclusa sunt. Scilicet de omnibus dominis de parliamento et universo regno a scismate et censuris incursis absolutis et ecclesiæ catholicæ, reconciliatis: de omnibus legibus quæ contra auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ et Romani pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum et Edwardum Sextum latæ et promulgatæ, revocatis et abolitis. De restitutâ sanctissimo domino nostro papæ et ecclesiæ Romanæ eâdem obedientiâ quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum schisma præstabatur.

De auctoritate episcopis restitutâ et maxime ut possint con- [fol. 57 a.] tra hæreticos et schismaticos procedere, et eos juxta canonicas sanctiones coercere et punire.

Hiis ita expositis veniant ad facultates sibi ab eodem reverendissimo Domino legato concessas, quæ recitentur, et hic omnes qui in schisma vel alios errores lapsi sunt invitentur ad absolutionem et reconciliationem humiliter et ex toto corde petendam. Necnon dispensationes tam super ordinibus quam super beneficiis necessarias et opportunas postulandas; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de clero humiles et pœnitentes compareant ad petendum suppliciter absolucionem, reconciliationem et dispensaciones prædictas: secundum vero[18] domini episcopi postquam illi omnibus erroribus suis renunciaverint et promiserint sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri sacerdoti catholico confessuros esse errores suos, pœnitentiam sibi injungendam adimpleturos, eos absolvent, et ecclesiæ reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis juxta formam facultatum pro petentium necessitatibus prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et

[16] [*errores*] [17] [*acceptus*] [18] [*Idem vero*]

hæreses inciderunt, et eos qui eas etiam publice docuerunt et alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

Eodem die constituetur dies festus et solemnis in quo astante 245
in ecclesiâ populi multitudine, domini episcopi et omnes curati in ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ clero jam exposita fuerunt populo quoque insinuabunt et omnes invitabunt paterne et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad ecclesiæ catholicæ gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus præterita crimina omnia condonentur et remittantur, modo eos ex animo illorum pœniteat, et illis renuncient. Præfigatur autem terminus, utpote[19] tota paschatis octava, infra[20] quem terminum
[fol. 57 d.] omnes ecclesiæ reconcilientur, alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos et eos[21] qui post reconciliationem ad vomitum reversi fuerint severissime procedetur. Dicatur etiam[22] de facultate concessâ a reverendissimo domino legato episopis et aliis, ut absolvere possint omnes quicunque ad cor reversi fuerint.

Iidem domini episcopi et officiales nominabunt et deputabunt, ecclesiarum parochialium rectores seu alias personas idoneas, quæ laicos ab hæresi, et schismate, et quibuscunque censuris absolvant juxta facultatum formam et tenorem, datâ per episcopos formulâ quâ in absolucione et reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum clero totius diocesis observari, prout commodius visum fuerit.

Domini episcopi et officiales præfati, necnon omnes curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant librum in quo nomen et cognomen parochianorum[23] reconciliatorum inscribantur: ut postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati et qui non.

Iidem domini episcopi et officiales octavâ paschatis elapsâ poterint facere visitacionem civitatis primo, deinde diocesis, et si qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, et cognoscere causas propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, et si in eiis obstinate perseverârint, tum contra eos procedent.

In hac faciendâ visitacione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maxime faciant ut omnes eccle-
[fol. 58.] siasticæ personæ ostendant titulos suorum ordinum et beneficiorum, et[24] si in eiis aliquis alius defectus notetur, illis provideant

[19] [*ut puta*] [20] [*intra*] [21] [*eos etiam*] [22] [*etiam* om.]
[23] [*et parochia omnium*] [24] [*ut*]

et omni studio procurent ut errores quibus dioceses eorum sint infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum in confessionibus doceatur: deputando personas ydoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas. Id etiam curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur et nomen Divi Thomæ martiris necnon sanctissimi domini nostri Papæ ex libris dispunctum in illis restituatur et pro eo secundum morem ecclesiæ ut ante schisma fiebat, oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum et infelicitatis præteritorum temporum et magnæ gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro suâ misericordiâ populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum[25], et infinitas gratias divinæ ipsius bonitati assidue agendum[26].

246 Hortandi etiam sunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro salute et felici statu horum serenissimorum et de hoc regno optime meritorum et merentium regum et specialiter pro felici partu serenissimæ et piissimæ reginæ.

Faithfully transcribed from the old book afore mentioned, with which collated by

Thom. Tanner.

[25] [*cognoscenda*] [26] [*agendas.*]

## Number XXXV. [p. 240.]

*The process and condemnation of bishop Hooper, and the order given for his execution.*

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper super articulos hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

*ACTA die Lunæ vicesimo octavo die Januarii anno Domini juxta computacionem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto in ecclesiâ parochiali Sancti Salvatoris nuncupata Sayncte Mary Overey in burgo de Southwark Wintoniensis dioceseos coram reverendo in Christo patre domino Stephano permissione divinâ Wintoniensi episcopo, auctoritate suâ ordinariâ illic judicialiter sedente, assistentibus sibi a dextris reverendis in Christo patribus Edmundo Londoniensi, Nicholao Wigorniensi, Thomâ Eliensi, Gilberto Bathoniensi et Wellensi, Jacobo Glocestrensi, Johanne Bristoliensi, et a lævâ, Cuthberto Dunelmensi, Roberto Carliolensi, Johanne Lincolniensi, Henrico Menevensi, Willielmo Norwicensi, Radulpho Coventrensi et Lychfeldensi, Dei gratiâ episcopis in præsentiâ nostrâ Anthonii Husey, Roberti Jonson, et Willielmi Say, notariorum publicorum in actuarios negocii hujusmodi conjunctorum et domini assumptorum &c.*

Officium domini contra Johannem Hooper. [Harl. MSS. 421. fol. 36.]

QUIBUS die et loco productus fuit publice in judicium Johannes Hooper clericus de et super hæreticâ pravitate, publice et notorie infamatus: cui dictus reverendus pater palam proposuit, quod cum ipse superiori die coram eodem reverendo patre et nonnullis aliis a privato consilio dominorum regis et reginæ ad hoc specialiter destinatis evocabatur et exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoscens transactæ vitæ suæ et perversæ doctrinæ errores et hæreses, rediret cum cæteris ad unitatem ecclesiæ: oblataque fuerat ei sic volenti præteritorum erratorum et facinorum suorum condonacio, ipseque Johannes tunc indurato animo sic redire renuerit, propterea inpræsenciarum in publicum justiciæ forum ad respondendum articulis hæreticam pravitatam concernentibus coram eodem reverendo patre auctoritate

suâ ordinariâ sedente evocatus fuit. Offerens præterea publice tunc et ibidem quod si adhuc se reconciliare vellet, libenter in
247 gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ reciperetur, quod ipse Johannes Hooper non solum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas blasphemias impudenter prorupit. Et deinde dictus reverendus pater inter cæteros complures articulos, et capitula, hos sequentes eidem Johanni Hooper specialiter objecit.

In primis, Quod tu Johannes Hooper, existens presbyter et religiosus, regulam a jure approbatam expresse professus, quandam mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuisti, in uxorem, sive conjugem accepisti; et cum illâ, tanquam cum uxore et conjuge tuâ, cohabitâsti in nephariis et illicitis cum eâ amplexibus cohabitando, matrimoniaque prætensa hujusmodi licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, tam infra diocesim Wintoniensem, quam alias quamplures dioceses hujus regni Angliæ, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, librisque editis publicâsti et defendisti, et sic asseris et credis in præsenti. Et ministramus conjunctim, et de quolibet super quibus publica viget fama.

Ad quem quidem articulum respondet et fatetur, se presbiterum et religiosum professum, quandam mulierem in uxorem legitime accepisse, et cum eâdem tanquam cum uxore legitimâ cohabitâsse: quodque hujusmodi matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, asseruit, prædicavit, docuit, et libris editis publicavit et defendit; sicque asserit, credit, et defendere paratus est in præsenti, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod tu in locis prædictis, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, et libris editis publicâsti et defendisti; sicque credis, tenes, asseris et defendis, quod propter culpam fornicationis, sive adulterii commissam, personæ legitime conjugatæ, possunt ex verbo Dei, ejusque auctoritate ac ministerio magistratuum ab invicem pro adulterio a vinculo matrimonii separari et divortiari: sicque licebit viro aliam accipere in uxorem; et mulieri similiter, alium accipere in maritum pro eo, viz. quod mulier non est amplius uxor prioris viri, nec prior vir amplius maritus prioris uxoris, hæcque fuerunt et sunt vera etc.

Ad hunc articulum respondet affirmative, quodque paratus est defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes adversarios, esse vera, de jure divino et humano.

Tertio, Quod tu, in locis prædictis asseruisti, tenuisti, publi-

câsti, libris editis docuisti et defendisti; sicque credis, asseris, tenes, et defendis in præsenti, quod in Eucharistiâ, sive altaris sacramento, verum et naturale Christi corpus, et verus ac naturalis Christi sanguis, sub speciebus panis et vini vere non est: et quod ibi est materialis panis, et materiale vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentiâ corporis et sanguinis Christi.

Ad quem quidem articulum, sub hoc contextu verborum, respondet; viz. *That the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar: saying also, That the mass is the iniquity of the Devil; and* 248 *that the mass is an idol.*

Præmissis expeditis, Dominus assignavit eidem ad comperendum in hoc loco crastinâ die, inter horas octavam et decimam ante meridiem, ad videndum ulteriorem processum fieri, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem honorandis et egregiis ac venerabilibus viris Thomâ Duce Norfolciæ, Anthonio Domino Montagu. Thomâ Domino Wharton, Ricardo Southwell, Francisco Englefeld, Christophero Rochester, Thomâ Wharton, Johanne Hurleston, Johanne Tregonwell, et Philippo Draycott, ac Johanne Gernyngham militibus, Willielmo Coke, Thomâ Martyn, et aliis quamplurimis in multitudine copiosâ ibidem congregatis testibus, &c.

Die sequente viz. die Martis vicesimo nono die Januarii coram eodem reverendo patre Wintoniensi episcopo, assidentibus sibi reverendis patribus coepiscopis supra nominatis et etiam domino Georgio Cicestrensi episcopo etc., in nostrâ notariorum prædictorum præsentiâ, etc., rursus comperuit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem dominus episcopus Wintoniensis, multis rationibus, ad sese reconciliandum, suasit et exhortabatur: dictus tamen Hooper, in pertinaciâ et malicià suâ perseverans, prorupit in blasphemias, dicendo etiam publice, *That matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven score sacraments.* Deinde dominus episcopus, perspectâ ejus pertinaci duritiâ, tandem tulit contra eum sententiam diffinitivam, in scriptis condempnando eum pro hæretico et excommunicato: et consequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit curiæ seculari, atque in manus David Woodroof, et Willielmi Chester, vicecomitum civitatis Londoniensis; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc secum abduxerunt. Super cujus sententiæ prolatione et lecturâ, idem reverendus

pater dominus Wintoniensis episcopus nos notarios memoratos ad conficiendum instrumentum, etc. testesque subscriptos ad perhibendum testimonium rogavit etc., præsentibus tunc ibidem nobilibus et egregiis viris, D. Thomâ duce Norfolciæ, Antonio Vicecomite Montagu, Francisco Englefild, Clemente Higham, Johanne Tregonwell, Ricardo Dobbes militibus, Thomâ Hungate armigero, Johanne Seton, Thomâ Watson theologiæ professoribus, Nicholao Harpesfeld, David Pole, Hugone Coren, legum doctoribus, Henrico Joliffe, Philippo Morgan theologiæ baccalaureis, Francisco Allen, Willielmo Smyth et Johanne Vaughan armigeris, testibus etc. ac aliis etiam quamplurimis tunc ibidem in multitudine copiosâ congregatis etc.

Faithfully transcribed from a folio book[27] of proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, collected in queen Mary's, or the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, by Anthony Style, notary public; now in the hands of

Thom. Tanner.

[27] [Of this folio book the editor can gain no information; but the loss is of no importance as far as this particular document is concerned; for the original draft is in the Harleian Collection and has been collated, and from it several alterations and additions have been introduced.]

## Number XXXVI.[28] [p. 241.]

*The queen's letter, ordering the manner of Hooper's execution.*

RIGHT trusty and well beloved, &c.

Cotton lib. Cleop. E v. [fol. 380, al. 412.]

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in 249
that case provided. Forasmuch as in those cities, and the[29] diocese thereof, he hath in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there: we have therefore given order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such[30] as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there. And will that you, calling unto you some of reputation dwelling in the shire, such as ye think best, shall repair unto our said city, and be at the said execution, assisting our mayor and sheriffs of the same city in this behalf. And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue, and having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown amongst them: our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large; but thither to be led quietly, and in

[28] [The author gave a marginal reference to the Cotton MSS., but printed from the copy sent him by Tanner. They are both contemporary copies, and differ only in the two words noticed at the foot of the page. The letter also appears in Heylyn, ii. 49, and in Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, iii. 282, in both instances taken from the Cotton MS.]

[29] [*the* om. Cotton.]

[30] [*others such* Cotton.]

silence, for eschewing of further infection, and such inconvenience, as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail you not, as ye tender our pleasure.

A true copy of an old paper in my custody, which seems to be the first draught of a letter from the queen to the lord Chandois, &c. who went to see execution done on bishop Hooper.

Thom. Tanner.

## Number XXXVII. [p. 241.]

*A letter of bishop Hooper's to Bullinger, written out of prison.*
*Hoperus Bullingero.*

GRATIAM et pacem a Domino.

Paper-Office[31]. Literas tuas, compater carissime, datas Tiguri 10 Octobris[32], 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi perjucundæ, quia plenæ consolationis. Ex quibus, animum, amorem, et pietatem tuam erga me pristinam, facile intellexi. Habeo tibi gratias immortales, quod hisce temporibus difficillimis, nostri non te capit oblivio: semper te, ob eximias tuas virtutes, et præclara Dei in te dona, præ ceteris amavi. Et quod a me, uti scribis[33], hactenus per annum integrum nullas acceperis literas; hoc 250
accidit, non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseras accepi, sed vel incuriâ tabellarii periere, vel invidiâ malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit et literis et libello domini Theodori. Nam de concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi, usque ad aliquot dies post mortem sanctissimi regis nostri Edouardi; et id quidem in confinibus Valliæ, in bibliothecâ pii cujusdam viri, quem ecclesiis quibusdam decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus concaptivis meis fratribus, legendas curabo mitti.

Incolumitatem ac constantiam vestræ ecclesiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor: et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam, contra tyrannidem Antichristi semper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, sanatum est; et pro capite ecclesiæ denuo habetur, qui membrum

[31] [No such letter as this is in the State Paper-Office, nor is it likely it should have found its way there. The original is at Zurich, from which it was printed in the Epistolæ Tigurinæ, p. 67, from which it has been corrected.]

[32] [This letter of the 10th of October is printed in Fox, vol. iii. p. 136, 'translated out of Latin into English,' and in Latin in Coverdale, p. 125.]

[33] [Bullinger wrote that he had only received two letters from him: one in September of the preceding year, and one in the May of the present year.]

ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis, res nostras, et statum reipublicæ intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per sesquiannum ferme. Indies hostes evangelii magis ac magis negotium facessunt. In carcere seorsim servamur, et omnium ignominiarum fastidio afficimur: mortem quotidie minitantur; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum et flammas, in Christo Jesu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus; et certi sumus, quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus; faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris literis tuis uxorem meam, modestissimam ac piam mulierem consolari; et exhortari, ut studiose liberos nostros Rachelam filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adolescentulam, ac filium Danielem pie educat, in cognitione et timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ pietati jam mitto duos libellos legendos, judicandos, et corrigendos, si quæ occurrant, cum verbo Dei parum convenientia: cui titulum feci, *Hyperaspismus de verâ Doctrinâ et Usu Cœnæ Domini;* quem senatui Anglico dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publice, in curiâ parlamenti, adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri titulum feci, *Syntagma, de falsâ Religione dignoscendâ et fugiendâ.* Et rogo, ut quam citissime fieri possit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios et doctos, uterque liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas literas alias ad episcopos, ut libros in parlamento promoverent, et illas imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam inique et injuste nobiscum agitur. Non opus est, ut multa hac de re scribam: ex ipsis libellis et literis, facile intelliges quid volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus libris impediatur imprimendis; rogo, ut Basileam mittat, ad D. Oporinum, qui valde caste imprimit, et omnia nitide in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modo libelli tuis literis ad se veniunt commendati: quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi propter libellos atrocius et severius hostes evangelii sævient: habeo salutis meæ fidelissimum custodem, et propugnatorem, Patrem nostrum cœlestem, per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi: illius fidei ac tutelæ meipsum commendo; si dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut sint ad gloriam nominis sui; sin huic brevi et flagitiosæ vitæ finem voluit, æque
251 duco, Fiat voluntas illius. Quia furtim scribo, breviores et

perturbatiores literas tuæ præstantiæ facio, quas boni consule quæso.

Raptim ex carcere 11 Decembris 1554[34].

Saluta mihi officiose castam tuam conjugem, cum totâ tuâ familiâ, domi et foris, ac alios omnes ut nôsti.

Tuæ præstantiæ ut debeo studiosissimus

J. Hooperus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Præstantissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero, compatri suo longe carissimo, Tiguri.*

[34] [The author in the text mentions several other letters that Hooper wrote, during his imprisonment, to Bullinger. They may be seen in Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, and in Fox's Acts and Monuments.]

## Number XXXVIII. [p. 251.]

*A letter of Mason's concerning a treaty begun with France, and of the affairs of the empire.*

After most hearty commendations. Your last was of the 23th of the last month, and my last to you was of the 7th of this present. By these you shall understand that the emperor hath appointed monsieur de l' Allain, governor of Hennalt; monsieur de Benigncourt, governor of Arthoyis; the bishop of Arras; the president of the council here, named Viglius; and the president of the council of Mallynes; to resort to Gravelynghes, for the treating of a peace with such others may like the French king to send to Ardres; whereof the constable, and the cardinal of Lorrayne, he hath already appointed. But by reason of the death of the pope, I think the cardinal of Lorrayne goeth another way. In whose place is to be thought some other shall be appointed, with the others, to answer to the number assigned by the emperor. The cardinal, and my lord chancellor come out of hand to Callais to be mediators on the queen's behalf, to bring these princes, if their will be, to some good composition. Our Lord assist them so with his grace, as Christendome may have a breathing time. The 4th of this month the king and queen went to Hampton-Courte to keep their Easter; whether Easter done they return to London, or go to Wyndesor, the certainty is not yet known. Bolls of Cambridgeshire, and sir Peter Mewtas, remain still in prison. The first in the Tower, and the other in the Fleet, and little words made of
252 them; so it is thought the suspicion was more vehement than found to be of any great ground. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster have laid sore law to defend the alteration of the church into an abbey; in which matter, Doctor Cole sheweth himself very stout, alleging that monks have none institution of Christe, wherein priests have the advantage of them, &c. What the end will be, it is not known; but it

is feared they shall be put to choice, whether they will depart with their wills or against their wills.

The emperor hath by reason of his long unseasonable cold, been very ill handled of his gout, whereof he is now indifferently well amended.

The princes of Almayne do much mislike the arriving of cardinal Moron at Augusta; for the satisfaction of whom, the emperor hath given full authority to the king his brother, as so is the cardinal like to return, *con la piva in sacco.* The duke of Alva is not yet departed out of Englond; neither yet in the way, so far as I can hear, albeit his baggage, and a good number of his company are arrived at Callais. On Tuesday last, the ambassadors, or agents, name them as you will, of Cremona, Novaria, and Lodi, passing between Dovor and Callays hitherward, were taken by a French shallop; but it is thought they shall shortly be set at liberty, as well for that they were public persons, and not subjects to the emperor, as for that they were taken out of an English vessel. Their money and baggage is saved, whatsoever come of their persons. Thus for lack of other matter, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

From Bruxells the 14th day of April, 1555.

Your own most assuredly,

John Masone.

Endorsed

*To the right honourable Mr. Petre Vannes, the queen's majesty's ambassador at Vennis.*

This letter is faithfully transcribed from the original in the hands of

Thom. Tanner.

253 Number XXXIX. [p. 252.]

*A translation of Charles the Vth's letter, resigning the crown of Spain to king Philip.*

To our counsellors, justices, the nobility, jurats, knights, and esquires; all kind of ministers and officers; and all other our learned men within that our town of Tolledo, greeting. Paper-Office. [Foreign Mary, vol. viii. Jan.–June, 1556.]

By such letters as I have from time to time taken order to be written unto you, since my departing out of the kingdom of Spayne, you have fully been advertised of the successes of mine affairs; and namely how that for religion's sake, I enterprised the war of Almayne, upon the great desire I had, as reason was, and according to my bounden duty, to reduce, and to return again those countries into the unity of the church, procuring and seeking by all the means I could, to set peace and quietness in all the estates of Christendome; and to do what might be done for the assembling, and assisting of a general council, both for the necessary reformation of many things; and to draw home also thereby, with less difficulty, such as had separated themselves, and were swerved from the catholic faith of Christe. Which my great desire having brought, by God's goodness, to a very good point; the French king suddenly, without all reason or any good foundation, alluring to his aid the Allmaynes, and making a league with them, against their oaths and fidelities, brake with me, and opened the war against me, both by sea and by land. And not satisfied herewith, he procured the coming of the Turcques army, to the notable damage of Christendome; and namely of our estates, and seigniories; whereby I was forced and driven to bring an army to my no little trouble, as well by my great pain taken in mine own person in the field, as by my travail otherwise; which thereupon I was constrained to endure, in the treating and maynyng of sundry urgent and great matters daily and continually falling out upon the same; which were the great, and in effect the only occasions of the great and painful infirmity and indisposition

of my body; which I have since had these years past, and yet have, whereby I find myself so encumbered, and so destitute of health, that not only have I been, or am able by mine own person to discharge such a travail, and to use such diligence in resolutions, as was requisite; but have also, which I do confess, been a let and an hinderance to sundry things whereof I have had, and now have a great conscience. And I would to God I had sooner taken therein such an order as I now am determined to take: which nevertheless for many considerations I could not well do, in the absence of the high and mighty prince, the king of England and Naples, and my right dear and right well beloved son: for that it was necessary many things to be first communicated unto him, and to be treated with him. And for this purpose, after the marriage 254
put in due execution with the high and excellent princess, the queen of England, I lastly took order for his coming over hither: and within a short time after, I took order to resign and to renounce unto him, like as I have done all those my estates, kingdoms, and seigniories, of the crown of Castella and Leon, with all their members and appertences, in such sort as more fully and more amply is contained in such instruments as I have signed and agreed unto of the date of these presents; trusting that with his great wisdom and experience, whereof I have hitherto had a right great proof in all such things as have been passed and handled by him for me, and in my name, he will now for himself, and in his own name, govern, order, defend, and maintain the same with peace and justice. And not doubting but that according unto your old and commendable loyalty, faith, love, and obedience, which you have borne and do bear, both to him and to me; whereof for my part, I have had always large experience by your deeds, you will serve him and obey him as appertaineth to my trust and your duties; for the good will borne to you so many years. Commanding you nevertheless, and straitly charging you that displaying and setting up banners, and doing all other ceremonies and solemnities requisite, and which have been accustomed to have been done in like cases, for the due execution of the purpose above said, in the same manner and sort as if God had taken me unto his mercy, you do obey, serve, and honour, from henceforth the

said king, accomplishing his will and pleasure in all such things as he shall by word and writing command you, as you ought to do to your true and natural lord and king: even as you have and ought to have accomplished all such commandments as have, during my reign passed to you from me: wherein besides that you shall do your duties, and do that you are bound to do, you shall do unto me acceptable pleasure.

Given at Brussells the 17th of January, 1556.

Copy of the letter sent by the emperor to sundry estates in Spayne, upon the resigning of the same unto the king's majesty; turned out of Spanish into English.

## Number XL. [p. 254.]



*A remembrance of those things that your highness' pleasure was I should put in writing, as most convenient in my poor judgment, to be commoned and spoken of by your majesty, with your council, called to your presence this afternoon.*

*Written in the hand of cardinal Pole.*

Titus, B. ii. fol. 177. al. 157.

FIRST of all, that your majesty should put them in remembrance of the charge the king's highness gave them at his departure; which being reduced to certain articles, and put in writing, it seemeth well if some of the lords for their sudden departure after their charge had not the same in writing, that it were rehearsed and given unto them with exhortation to employ all their diligence for the due execution thereof.

And whereas amongst other charges, this was one, that those that be named in the first part counsellors, were all present in the court, this first your highness may require them that they do observe: specially beside, for the weight of the matters that be now in hand; the time beside being so short, after the parliament to examine them. And that the king's pleasure is, as the matters be proposed in the council, afore the further execution of them, to be informed thereof, to know his pleasure therein. And amongst other, his majesty being in expectation to know the utter resolution of the council, touching those matters that be to be intreated in this parliament, this is that your majesty looketh to have of them this day, to send with all speed to the king's highness.

And whereas for the dilation of the king's coming, your majesty thought it well to put in consult, whether it were better therefore to make a dilation and prorogation of the parliament to Candlemas, being thought by their opinion, that for necessity of money that is to be demanded in the parliament, and otherwise cannot be provided, the prorogation of that should be much dispendiose: Your majesty not disallowing their deliberation; but considering withal the great need of money for to be had, for the discharge of the present

necessity, which requireth present provision of money, as is for the setting forth of the ships, as well for the emperor's passage to Spaygne, as for the king's return, and beside this, for the payment of that is due at Calise, as for your credit with the merchants approaching the day of payment; and for the debt of Ireland also, of all these it may please your majesty to know this day of your council what is done.

256 And because the most ordinary and just way, touching the provision of money to pay your highness' debts, is to call in your own debts; which charge hath been specially committed afore, and is principally considered and renewed in the writing the king's highness left touching such affairs, that his council should presently attend unto, where be their names also that have the charge special, therefore, your majesty shall do well this day to charge them with the same; that with all diligence they attend to the prosecution thereof, giving them all authority that shall be necessary for them, to make the most speedy expedition therein. Willing them withal, that they never let pass one week, but in the end of the same, at the least, your majesty may know specially of that is commen in, and what order is taken for the rest.

Also if it pleased your majesty in general, for all matters which be intreated in the council, which require commission and execution, to give this order, that those that have had commission to execute any matter, let never pass the week, but they inform the council what execution is made of their commissions: and that the council themselves should never begin before entretance of new matters the second week; but that they have information first, what is done in those which were committed to be executed the week afore; I think it should help much to the speedy expedition of all causes. This is my poor advice, remitting all to the godly and prudent judgment of your majesty.

## Number XLI. [p. 255.]

*Some directions for the queen's council; left by king Philip.*

Cotton lib. Titus, B. [ii. fol. 176, al. 155.]

INPRIMIS, pro meliori et magis expeditâ deliberatione, in iis quæ in consilio nostro agenda sunt ex reliquis consiliariis nostris; eos, quorum nomina sequuntur, seligendos putavimus: quibus specialem curam omnium causarum statûs, finantiarum, et aliarum causarum graviorum regni, committendam duximus et committimus.

Reverendissimus Legatus cardinalis POLUS, in causis magnis, ubi voluerit, et commode poterit.

D. Cancellarius. D. Thesaurarius. Comes de Arrundel.
Comes de Penbrook. Episcopus Eliensis. D. Paget.
Mr. Rochester comptroller'. Mr. Petre secretarius.

Consiliarii prædicti omnes et singuli erunt præsentes in aulâ, 257
et intelligent, et considerabunt omnes causas statûs, omnes causas financiarum, statum possessionum, debitorum, et quomodo debita cum honore solvi possint; et generaliter, omnes alias causas majoris momenti, tangentes honorem, dignitatem, et statum Coronæ.

Et quo melius consilium nobis dare possint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem discordiam, si quæ inter eos sit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè et in timore Dei, ea in consiliis proponant et dicant, quæ Dei gloriam, nostrum et regni nostri honorem et utilitatem, promovere possint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit occasio, nos adeant, vel aliquos ex se mittant, per quos intelligere possimus deliberationes suas, in omnibus causis quæ coram eis proponentur, et ad minus ter quâlibet septimanâ, referant nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta et deliberata.

Dicti consiliarii deliberabunt de parlamento, quo tempore habendum sit, et quæ in eodem agi et proponi debeant: et

quæ agenda et proponenda videbuntur in parlamento, in scriptis redigi nolumus, ante parlamenti initium.

Quod singulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis consiliariis præsentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant specialem curam pro debitorum solutione, diminutione sumptuum, et providâ gubernatione et collectione reddituum, terrarum, possessionum et vectigalium, et pro administratione justitiæ[35].

[35] [This paper is on two folios, the whole of the second being blank, except that it is endorsed, *The last commission, 29 Augusti,* 1555.]

## Number XLII. [p. 266.]

*A letter to the ambassadors, concerning the restitution of Calais.*

Paper-Office. [Foreign Series, No. 856. p. 173.]

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordships. By our last letters of the 4th[36] of this month, we signified unto you our well liking of your opinions, to have the matter touching Calleys moved in the parliament: and that we being also of the same mind ourselves, meant to propone the case there with all the expedition we might, and to make you answer of that should be further resolved therein, as shortly as we could.

Since which time, upon consultation had amongst ourselves, how the matter should best be opened and used there: and being of opinion, as we have been from the beginning, that it were not convenient to have the same broken to the whole house, but only to the nobility, and some other of the best and gravest sort; we thought it also necessary, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our opinions unto the queen's majesty, and to understand her highness' good pleasure and resolution therein. Whose majesty, upon the 258
opening thereof unto her, thought meet for good respects, we should first write unto the king's highness to such effect, as by the copy of our letters presently addressed to his majesty for that purpose (which you shall receive herewith), you may at better length perceive; and then understanding his highness' answer, should either go forward with our former deliberation, or otherwise use the matter as we should see cause. Wherefore, like as we have thought good to give your lord-

[36] [An imperfect minute of this letter is in the State Paper Office, of which the following account is given in Turnbull's Foreign Papers, p. 406: 'The council have received their letter of the 29th, concur in the expediency of referring the question of Calais to parliament; yet think it best they should remain as long as there is any hope of agreement, or until the communication shall be utterly ended. They are to stand to their previous instructions. Are comforted by his majesty's honourable consideration of the realm.']

ships knowledge by these, so when we shall have received the king's majesty's answer herein, we will not fail to signify unto you with diligence what shall be farther resolved touching this matter. And in the meantime, we bid your good lordships right heartily well to fare.

The queen's majesty remaineth yet still both sick and very weak; and although we hope of her highness' amendment, for the which we daily pray; yet are we driven both to fear and mistrust the worst; which we beseech Almighty God to remedy, when it shall like him.

After that we had written the letters enclosed[37] to the king's majesty, we received yours of the 4th[38] of this instant; by the which we do understand, that the French commissioners continue still of the same mind that they were at your meeting with them, not to leave the possession of Calice. By your said letters appeareth also, that the king's majesty told you, that his commissioners were agreed with the Frenche well near upon all matters; and that his highness nevertheless would not agree to any conclusion, but that the queen's majesty should be first satisfied for the matters of this realm.

After that we had considered the effect of these your letters, considering of what importance the leaving of Callice is for this realm; how much it would touch the honour of their majesties and of this crown, that so many restitutions being made on both sides, this should be suffered to pass unrestored; and finally, how ill the subjects of this realm will digest this matter, if there should any such thing be agreed unto; we neither can of ourselves well consider what to answer, nor think meet to propone it to the parliament, until we may yet once again hear from you. And where policy faileth, we are compelled to use plainness. You know these wars, wherein Calice is lost, began at the king's majesty's request, and for his sake. We do consider, that other his majesty's friends and confederates be restored to things taken many years past. And what may be judged in this realm, if this

[37] [A copy of this letter in Latin is in the State Papers thus described by Turnbull: 'The council acknowledge his constant regard for the welfare of England, and inquire whether he thinks they should conclude a peace without having Calais restored, which the French refuse to do.']

[38] [The original of this is also in the State Papers; see Turnbull's Foreign Papers, p. 405, No. 853.]

peace be concluded, and Calice left in the Frenche king's hands, so many other restitutions being made, it may be easily considered. On the other side, his majesty's commissioners being so near an agreement for all other matters, much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom.

And it hath been considered here, how much this realm is travailed and spent already with these wars.

These things being amongst us considered, knowing his majesty's gracious disposition and favour towards this realm, we think good your lordships do plainly open these considerations to him, in such good sort as you may think good. 259
And first to desire to understand his majesty's disposition plainly, if you may for Calice: the remaining whereof in the Frenche king's hands doth as much import for his Low Countries as for this realm.

And secondly, that it may please his majesty to give us his good advice for our further doings, and manner of proceeding in this matter; wherein albeit our meaning is to use the advice of the rest of the nobility and parliament, yet do we stay that to do until we have answer again from you, and understand his majesty's plain and determinate answer therein.

And we do heartily pray your lordships to use your accustomed good wisdoms in the good opening of the premises, and to send us answer as soon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the council unto the earl of Arrundell, and the rest of the commissioners beyond the seas.

## Number XLIII. [p. 266.]

*A letter of the ambassadors concerning Calais.*

*An original.*

Paper-Office. [Foreign Series, Eliz. p. 9.]

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good lordships. By Francisco Thomas the post, we have received two letters from your lordships. The first of the 29th of the last month: and the later, of the first of this present, with other letters directed to the king's majesty. Upon the receipt whereof, we having met together, and consulted upon the contents of the same, determined to open to the king's majesty by our letters the matters whereof your lordships wrote unto us; for his majesty is not in these parts here, but is at Brussels, or beyond. The copy of our letter to his majesty in that behalf we send your lordships herewith.

And where your lordships write unto his majesty, that by our letters doth appear that the French king by no means will leave the possession of Callais: and that he would rather hazard his crown than to consent to the restitution of it: true it is, that we wrote to your lordships, that the French commissioners, in their conference with us and with the king's commissioners, have ever refused to consent to the restitution
260 of Calais. And that the French have declared to one of the king's commissioners, that the French king for to hazard his crown will not forego Calais.

And albeit that for because of the good face set upon that matter by the French commissioners, we somewhat mistrusted, that that which they spake was the king their master's determination; yet indeed did we not affirm it to be so. No, nor did not then utterly despair, but that the French, if they were kept somewhat short, would at the length relent; for else to what purpose had it been agreed and appointed, that both the king's and the French king's commissioners should return to their masters, to declare what had been done already, and to know what their master's further pleasure was thereupon.

And forasmuch as we have ever been of opinion, that if

the king's majesty refuse to conclude anything with them, without the restitution of Callais; that may the sooner induce the French to agree to it. And likewise if they perceive the king's majesty, or his ministers, not so earnest therein, but that by a brag of the French; they will the sooner give over, and stand the more faintly for the restitution of it; that will make the French the bolder, and to stand the more earnestly in their refusal. Therefore we have not thought it meet to use any kind of words to the king, whereby his majesty might by any means think that the queen's highness, and the realm of England, could be content to conclude a peace without restitution of Callais. As well for because our instructions import that, as also trusting that that would move his majesty and his commissioners to be the more careful for the restitution of it. And seeing that his majesty and his commissioners have ever said, that they will conclude nothing without the queen's highness be first satisfied: it seemed to us, that if her highness and your lordships did stand earnestly in the repetition of Callais: that the French at this time must either forsake Callais or else the peace. And in case this occasion to redemand Callais be now forslowne, God knoweth when ever England shall have the like again.

And where your lordships write, that the king's commissioners being so near to agree with the French upon the whole, much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendome: it is even so indeed as your lordships write. Marry that all other should have restitution of their own, and poor England that began not the fray, bear the burthen and the loss for the rest; and specially of such a jewel as Callais is, we fear will seem very hard and strange to all the realm. And yet if the loss of Callais might purchase a sure peace to Christendome, that were yet some colour why somewhat the rather to agree to it. But if we may be so bold to say plainly our minds unto your lordships; we not only think not that the leaving Callais to the French shall purchase Christendome a sure peace; but rather are persuaded that nothing can more evidently shew, that the French intend no peace to continue, specially with England, than the retention of Callais, if they earnestly and finally persist therein.

Your lordships do right well understand what advantage

the Frenche have to annoy us by Scotland, which now is much ruled by France. And in case any peace be made, then shall the French have good time and leisure to establish and order
261 their matters so in Scotland, specially considering the marriage of the dolphin, and the queen of Scottes, is now done; that Scotland shall be every whit as much at their commandment as any part of France is. And what the French pretend unto by that marriage, is not unknown to your lordships.

If now Callais shall remain in their hands too, whereby neither England shall have the commodity to offend their enemies, nor to succour their friends, nor likewise to receive succour from their friends at their need, but by very uneasy means: yea, and whereby England shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all things, done both by their enemies and by their friends; or at the least, the knowledge thereof shall not come, but so late, that it will serve to little purpose. And that Callays lieth so commodiously to be a scourge for England, as it was before king Edward the Third took it: which caused him to adventure himself, and his son the prince, to come but with a mean army from Normandye into France, and thence through all Picardye, to go to besiege Callais: he being continually pursued by his enemies with great armies, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and finally content more than once to fight it out, and especially at Crecy, where his enemy's army was thrice as great as his, and to lie so long at the siege before Callais as he did. This scourge of England, so well known by experience then, and therefore so dearly bought by king Edward the Third, and now not yet known for lack of experience; if the French shall retain in their hands, they having likewise Scotland on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to England, is easy to be considered.

These, and other considerations, make us to be of opinion, that leaving Callais to the French, they will be content to deliver you a piece of parchment sealed with a little wax; but that they mean any continuance of peace, we cannot be persuaded, no more than king Francis did by a number of pieces of parchment sealed, which he sent to king Henry the Eighth: nor the French king that now is, did, by the parchment sealed, which he sent to king Edward the Sixth.

And whereas now the king's majesty's countries are in war with France as well as Englande: if the peace be once made, the Frenche will soon seek occasion to fall out with England again; and then may it perhaps chance so, that Spayne will not think it necessary for them to venture in war again with France. Whereas now the king's majesty cannot honourably, nor intendeth not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any peace without us. So that the premises considered, we cannot for our parts think that Christendome shall be restored to a good peace, though we forsake Callais, but that then we shall be more oppressed with war than before. And in case we must needs have war, as good it seemeth to continue in it yet for a while, being conjoined to the king's majesty, who beareth the chief burthen and charges of it; than shortly after to begin anew, and to stand in danger to have all the burthen lie on our necks. And then should we know what a jewel we had forsaken, when we did agree to forego Callais; and that by the retention of Callais, the French meant nothing less than the quietness of Christendome.

We have thought it our duty to declare to your lordships 262
what our opinion is herein. Which nevertheless we pray your lordships to accept in good part.

I the bishop of Elye returned to Cercamp, according to the king's majesty's appointment; where I have continued till now that I came hither to consult upon these matters with my colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing been done in our matters for England; but the other commissioners have been busy continually. And as far as I can learn, they are not yet all agreed upon the matters of Piedmont, nor of Corsica, nor Siena. Yea, and as I hear, the Frenche begin now to call the matters of Navarre in question; and to ask restitution thereof; in so much, that some begin to think, contrary to that hath been commonly thought hitherto, that the end of this matter will be, that all shall depart, *re infectâ*.

After we had written thus far, I the earl of Arundall, received a letter from the bishop of Arras, of the 17th of this present; wherein among other things he writeth thus. *Monsieur Levesque de Ely vous aura dist en quels termes nous estions a son partement en ce pourgatoire. Et hier les Francois nous declairarent qu'en toutes choses condescen-*

*droient ils plustost que de venir a ce de Callais: ne qu'il leur eshape: et nous leur declarasmes de rechief au contraire que sans satisfaire au royaume d'Angleterre nous ne traiterions en facon quelconque avec eulx et fut nostre depart sur ce tel qu'il y a plus d'apparence de rompre que de conclusion.*

So that by this likewise it may seem, that they agree not best: but whether that be for Callais only, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good lordships most heartily well to fare.

From Arras the 18th of November, 1558.

Your good lordships' assuredly,

Arrundell. Thomas Elye. N. Wotton.

[*To the right honourable and our very good lords the lords of their majesties' privy council.*]

## Number XLIV. [p. 272.] 263

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, from Strasburg, of the state of affairs in England.*

Scripta (ut videtur) 1558. *Juellus ad Martyrem.* S. D.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. iii. p. 3.]

De primâ illâ nostrâ profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. Simlerum nostrum. Quinto post die vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantisper miseri coacti sumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes, et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique nostri fecerint in Angliâ, nihil adhuc audimus. Neque id sane mirum. Profecti enim Argentinâ ad vicesimum primum Decembris, vix vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antverpiam, quod Rhenus constrictus glacie, illorum navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, reditum illorum reginæ esse gratissimum; idque illam non obscure præ se ferre.

Si episcopi pergant porro ut cœperunt, erit brevi magna vilitas episcopatuum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum, rabulam illum Cicestrensem, esse mortuum, quod idem de Vatsono quoque Lincolniensi nunciatur: quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad populum insanam, et turbulentissimam concionem; omnia potius tentanda esse, quam ut quicquam de religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accusatus est seditionis a marchione Vintoniensi thesaurario, et Hetho archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis jussus est, reddere hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad causæ dictionem; interim jubetur se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat concionem ad populum, neve papista, neve minister evangelii. Id alii factum putant, quod cum unus tantum esset minister verbi tum temporis Londini. Benthamus, tantus esset numerus papistarum; alii, quod auditâ unâ tantum Benthami publicâ concione, populus inter se cœperit litigare de ceremoniis: et alii Genevenses esse vellent, alii Francofordiani.

[Dec. 28, 1558.]

Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri homines nimium prudenter et politice versari velint in causâ Dei.

Multi putant D. Coquum fore magnum cancellarium; hominem bonum quidem, et pium, uti nôsti; sed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de istâ præclarâ pace, si Deo placet, transigatur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, et diuturna futura sit, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in An-
264 gliam. Video enim alios quoque nostros homines, de câ re serio cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad reginam: erat scripturus ad totum parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ fidei committeretur: ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi octo coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut sarcinam et pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamque vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime pater, et plus quam animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliqua scribere: cui ego viro, pro summâ ejus erga me humanitate, debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimum salutant, et cum tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quam Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, et D. Acontius, sunt nunc Argentinæ: uterque te plurimum salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi literas D. Isabellæ: id obsecro, ut illi significes.

Argentinæ, 26 Januar.

Johannes Juellus
ex animo, et semper, tuus.

## INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ professori S. theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.*

## Number XLV. [p. 273.]

*A letter of Gualter's to Dr. Masters, advising a thorough reformation.*

S.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1602, Ep. v. p. 7.]

Gratulabar mihi non parum, annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto sanctæ memoriæ, tu prior scribendi officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cœpisti. At nunc multo magis et tibi et mihi gratulor, vir doctissime, et 265
frater in Christo observande, quod ea tempora Angliæ vestræ, per Dei clementiam, reducta esse audimus; quando sub reginæ piissimæ tutelâ, piis hominibus, Deum vere colendi libertas restituetur, et amicorum literæ tuto hinc inde ferri et referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei sapientiam et bonitatem, qui ecclesiæ suæ ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ regno jam omnes conceperunt, satisfiat. Quod eo magis futurum puto, si quotquot illic in aliquo dignitatis gradu collocati estis, ecclesiæ et religionis curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis consilia, qui cum papatum nec honeste defendi, nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus religionis formam mixtam, incertam et dubiam fingunt, et eandem, sub evangelicæ reformationis prætextu, ecclesiis obtrudunt; ex quâ deinde facillimus est ad papisticam superstitionem et idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eo scribo, quod tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germaniâ, magno ecclesiarum malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi homines valeant. Eo quod illorum consilia, carnis judicio, modestiæ plena, et [ad] alendam concordiam, cumprimis idonea esse videantur, et credibile est, publicum illum humanæ salutis hostem, apud vos quoque sua flabella inventurum, quorum opera papatûs semina retinere studeat. Quibus scripturæ sanctæ, et verbi divini armis, constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus, multa ad tempus

duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio, et non absque gravissimis contentionibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ ecclesiæ multa viderunt, quorum consideratione edocti, suspecta habemus quæcumque cum sincerâ verbi doctrinâ, aliquâ ex parte pugnant. Nec me aliâ ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ vestræ, ob veterem consuetudinem, cujus vel sola recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirifice faveo. De rebus nostris certiorem te reddet Parkhurstus noster, frater et hospes meus dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilii molestias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem fidei constantiam, et patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe lætâ plenus, in patriam contendit, ut ecclesiæ renascentis causam pro talento suo adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit, cum scripturarum cognitionem habeat præclaram, et veritatis studiosissimus sit, et a contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix aliquem in ecclesiâ fructum faciunt. Optime ergo feceris, si tua auctoritate illum juves, et pro virili provehas. Mihi vero nihil jucundius fuerit, quam si ex tuis literis intelligam, nostræ amicitiæ memoriam penes te adhuc salvam esse, quæ certe in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, vir præstantissime.

Tiguri, 16 Januarii 1559[39].

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Richardo Mastero, medico regio, amico veteri, et fratri suo dilecto.*

[39] [The answer to this letter is dated Greenwich June 16, and was not written till 1561. It is printed in Epistolæ Tigurinæ, Ep. xxv. p. 33, and states that the previous reply, written not long after the reception of the letter, was lost at sea.]

## Number XLVI. [p. 273.] 266

*A letter of the earl of Bedford's to Bullinger, from Venice.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, p. 90.]

Cum meus in te amor singularis, et perpetua observantia, quâ te semper religionis causâ sim prosequutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis humanitas, multis modis a me perspecta, cum Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce literas animi erga te mei pignus certissimum, et veluti tabulas obsignatas mei in te perpetui amoris quas exstare volui, huic adolescenti ad te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita a me dicta velim accipias, non sicut homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quam quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, et prorsus tibi devinctissimo profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quam exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque, præsertim etiam quum adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter alio avertere possint) ut vos obiter invisam in Angliam reversuro, ubi id vivâ voce confirmabo, quod hic nudis verbis solummodo declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has literas perfert, mihi nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem honoris causâ nomino) quod ut audivi, sane quam pro eo ac debui, graviter molesteque tuli, non tam suâ, quam ecclesiæ universæ causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis hominibus promovendis, gloriosissime confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in cœlum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: itaque, ut illius causâ lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia facile mitiga-

bit, quem ecclesiæ, bonisque omnibus, diu incolumem Deus Optimus Maximus per suam misericordiam esse velit.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,
F. Bedford.

Venetiis sexto calendas Maias, 1557.

P. S. Domino Gesnero, et domino Gualtero, meis amicissimis diligenter a me, quæso, salutem dicito.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro domino Bullingero,*
*sacræ theologiæ professori eximio,*
*Tiguri tradantur.*

## Number XLVII. [p. 274.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the state he found matters in when he came to England.*

Ex MSS. Tiguri. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. IV. p. 5.]

TANDEM tamen aliquando, quinquagesimo videlicet septimo post die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, pervenimus in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa προοιμιάζειν, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos istos logos non magni facias? Interea vero, Deum immortalem, quæ illa vita fuit, cum et aqua, et terra, et cœlum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibus modis reditum nostrum impediret? Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima, et adversissima ceciderunt. Verum hæc antea ad te, et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cum adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quanquam hic, ut vere dicam, arte opus est et myrothecio: non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, et polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore, (scio tamen a te plurima expectari,) quam quod recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim fere omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multo tum erant alia, et longe auditu jucundiora, quam quæ postea re ipsâ inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus pontifex: nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies: eadem pompa, atque insolentia episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, et pene ruere.

Magno nobis impedimento sunt Aposcopi: qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori conclavi inter primores, et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum hominum, qui illorum fucos, et mendacia possit coram dicendo refutare, inter homines literarum, et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel numero, vel opinione doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi aperte faveat nostræ causæ, tamen partim a suis, quorum consilio omnia geruntur, partim a legato Philippi comite *Ferio* homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirifice deterretur.

Illa tamen quamvis lentius aliquanto, quam nos velimus, tamen et prudenter, et fortiter, et pie persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus principia, paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes, est aliquando recte fore. Interea, ne Aposcopi nostri queri possint se potentiâ tantum, et lege esse victos, res revocata est ad disputationem, ut novem ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmerus, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, et ego, cum quinque episcopis, abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est: *in publicis precibus et administratione sacramentorum aliâ uti linguâ, quam quæ a populo intelligatur, alienum esse a verbo Dei, et a consuetudine primitivæ ecclesiæ.* Altera est: *quam-*
268 *vis ecclesiam provincialem, etiam injussu generalis concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare ceremonias, et ritus ecclesiasticos, sicubi id videatur facere ad ædificationem.* Tertia *sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod papistæ fingunt esse in missâ, non posse probari ex sacris literis.* Pridie calendarum Aprilis instituetur prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi partâ victoriâ, jamdudum magnifice triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus ad nos venerit, scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, tertioque cupidissime relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito, multo fore gratiorem.

Oxonii a tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, et contumacia: religio, et spes omnis literarum, atque ingeniorum funditus periit. Brochus episcopus Glocestriensis bestia impurissimæ vitæ, et multo impurioris conscientiæ, paulo antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, *Sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum.* Faber tuus præclarus scilicet patronus castitatis deprehensus est in adulterio: et eâ causâ, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cum Maria adhuc viveret, novo more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere lectione theologicâ. Bruernus simili, aut longe flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere professionem linguæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil scribo, ne chartas contaminem. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, commemoras? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit D. Cranmerum, D. Ridlæum, D. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de pace, de bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi literas ex itinere: quæ utrum ad te perve-

nerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longe absumus, longius, ô Deum immortalem, et diutius multo quam vellem, literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ commitendæ sunt.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, et convictores tuos Trevicences. Omnes nostri te salutant.

Londini 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus.

Istæ sunt primæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

269 **Number XLVIII.** [p. 274.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, concerning the state of things in the beginning of this reign.*

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. XIV. p. 19.]

Gratissimæ erant mihi Parkhurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatissime vir, vel quod essent a te, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quod suavitatis, et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vestigia retinerent. Atque utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit; quod nos hortaris, ut strenue ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantum non ingratus nobis sed etiam pene necessarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis a nobis defecerunt et cum hostibus conjurârunt, jamque acrius multo, et contumacius resistunt, quam ulli hostes, quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorûm, hoc est cum teterrimis vitiis, superbiâ, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud: ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrûm. Quanquam, etsi molesta nobis est ista tam diuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi recte fore. Habemus enim reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edvardo rege fuerat; ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque vestræ literas et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli attributam esse Christo: nemini autem mortalium convenire; deinde illos titulos ita fœde contaminatos esse ab anti-christo ut jam non possint amplius satis pie a quoquam usurpari.

Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt, et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis,

Hispanus monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrime plantaverat, everterunt a radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare etsi magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possem in Angliâ, tamen non possum esse auctor hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum aut religionis causâ ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios et barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius quâ maxime re posset tibi, aliisque tuis fratribus, et symmystis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet sensit, velle se humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat et hospitii causâ aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego vero nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quam si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certe facit, quantum potest. 270

Venerunt hodie Londinum legati regis Galliæ, qui gratulentur de pace; princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerinum hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regiâ corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit.

Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam: sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia, non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum et corpus meum.

Maii 22. Londini, 1559.

Tui studiosissimus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro longe doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo et domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number XLIX. [p. 275.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the disputation with the papists at Westminster.*

*Idem ad P. Martyrem.*

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1579. Ep. V. p. 7.]

De illis disputationibus inter nos, et episcopos, quas proximis literis scripsi indictas fuisse in ante calendas Aprilis quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare orationem sine procemio. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur: 271 proximo autem conventu, ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridie ergo calendas Aprilis cum magnâ expectatione, majori credo frequentiâ convenissemus Westmonasterii, episcopi, pro suâ fide, nec scripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas: cum tamen habuissent plus minus decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxonio et Cantabrigiâ, et undique ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen ne tot viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de primâ quæstione, hoc est, de peregrinâ linguâ, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille vero cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis indignissime excepisset, et omnium seditionum auctores et faces appellâsset, et supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modo dejectione, modo sublatione superciliorum, (nôsti enim hominis vultum et modestiam) sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremo evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos annos recepisse evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, preces tum publicas in Angliâ habitas fuisse Anglice? Postea cum in illo circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adjecit serio, et vero vultu, atque etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent,

apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alii orientis ecclesias instituerent, alii occidentis. Itaque Petrum et Paulum, in Romanâ ecclesiâ, quæ totam prope Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, Latine docuisse; reliquos apostolos in oriente, nullo unquam alio sermone usos fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solennius et magistratius insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamâsset, *Poh! horson knave.* Verum ille, inter alia, nihil veritus est, mysteria ipsa et penetralia, atque adyta prodere religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter et serio monere, etiamsi alia omnia maxime convenirent, tamen non expedire, ut populus, quid in sacris agatur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, pater est veræ pietatis, quam ille appellavit devotionem. O mystica sacra, atque opertanea bonæ deæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cottâ pontifice cogitâsse? Hoc videlicet illud est, *in spiritu et veritate adorare.* Mitto alia. Cum illa jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremo nostra pronunciavimus de scripto, ita modeste, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adversarium. Postremo ita dimissa est disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo conventu, ne comes quidem Salopiensis, quin victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea inita est ratio, ut proximo die lunæ, de secundâ quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurii, nos illorum primi diei argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die lunæ, cum frequens multitudo, ex omni nobilitate cupidissima audiendi convenisset, episcopi, nescio pudorene superioris diei, desperatione victoriæ, primum tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de primâ quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est a senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse: nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu 272
tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in possessione constitisse: nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu populi, et aculeos orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contra. Hanc ab initio institutam fuisse

rationem, ut illi, quod dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse. Mirari vero se, quid hoc sit mysterii, cum omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: et præsertim, cum Colus in primis disputationibus etiam injussus, ultro prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremo, cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine disputatione discessum est. Ea vero res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit opinionem populi de episcopis: omnes enim cœperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die, Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, et Vatsonus, Lincolniensis, de tam aperto contemptu et contumaciâ, damnati sunt ad turrim: ibi nunc castrametantur, et ex infirmis præmissis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidie, præsto esse in aulâ, et expectare quid de illis senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντευξιν ἀτελῆ et pene ἀνέντευκτον; quam tamen, quo melius rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus, fortasse, quam oportuit.

Bene vale, mi pater, decus meum, atque etiam animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum literarum argumentum. Saluta plurimum, meo nomine, venerandum illum virum, et mihi in Christo dominum colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Volphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, et Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt.

Londini, 6 April. 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus.

*Postscript.*

Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

*De Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ, viro doctissimo, et domino suo in Christo colendissimo. Tiguri.*

## Number L. [p. 275.] 273

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the debates in the house of lords; and of the state of the universities; and concerning the inclinations to the Smalcaldic League.*

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. VII. p. 11.]

Accepi ternas a te literas, omnes eodem ferme tempore: quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quod essent a te, vel quod rerum tuarum statum significarent, et amorem erga me tuum: tamen nullâ aliâ causâ mihi visæ sunt jucundiores, quam quod officium meum requirerent, meq; vel oblivionis vel tarditatis, blande ac tacite accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas literas, ex quo redii in Angliam; quas tamen video, cum tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe fit, ut aut hæreant uspiam, et ignavæ atque otiosæ imitentur religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itinere. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in eâ re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim pene inanes, quod non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur causa pontificis, et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errâsse videantur: atque ea causa moratur, et impedit religionem. Difficile est enim currum incitare, ut inquit ille *βραδυπόδων ἵππων ἐνόντων*. Fecnamus, abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor, ut auctoritatem adderet professioni suæ, cum peroraret in senatu, Nazaræos, prophetas, Christum ipsum, et apostolos conjecit in numerum monachorum. Nemo causam nostram acrius oppugnat, quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: illis ex permutatione dabuntur sacerdotia, quæ erant monasteriis antea attributa. Interim de scholis, et

curâ literarum magnum ubique silentium. Hoc scilicet est δαίμονας ἐξελαύνειν ἄλλον ἄλλῳ, ὥς φασι, δαίμονι.

Regina de te honorifice et loquitur, et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russelio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et serio, et cupide, et honorifice petaris, nunquam ero auctor, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod ô utinam aliquando contingat) in Angliâ, sive etiam Tiguri. Verum quantum video obstabit desiderio nostro, inauspicata illa et saxis ac Saxonibus damnata παρουσία. Nostra enim nunc cogitat fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam e Germaniâ, illud fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam, si addo aliquando fuisse episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem Italum, si veteratorem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid
274 est, nos articulos omnes religionis, et doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus a confessione Tigurinâ. Quanquam Ἀρχιμάγειρος amicus tuus inventum illud, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirifice succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrum ne de obolo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abjicio insignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, librum et crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud nos; sed ita, ut non ausit φαινοπροσωπεῖν et venire in publicum. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore? Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verum, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere.

Libri tui nondum venerunt: id ego tanto magis miror, quod tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenerit, non dubito reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioqui sit per se ornatissimum, tamen si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini ultro succumbere. Certe etsi te nunquam ex animo eram dimissurus, tamen hâc commonefactione, et mnemosyno excitatus, tanto acrius et reverentius colam, quoad vixero, nomen tuum. Alii tui libri jampridem allati sunt a bibliopolis, et

emuntur cupidissime. Omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus venabulis illa bestia confossa sit.

Bene vale mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: dicerem et Frenshamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in Balneo esse, aut in viâ. Hoc enim anni tempore, cum auditur cuculus, vix solet esse apud se.

Londini, 28 Apr. 1559.

Tui cupidissimus,
tuoque nomini deditissimus,

P. S. Istæ sunt quartæ[41]. Johannes Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, professori S. Theologiæ, in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ, domino suo colendissimo.* *Tiguri.*

[40] [The third letter, which has been omitted by Burnet, is printed in Jewel's Works, p. 1204, and is dated April 14, 1559.]

275 ## Number LI. [p. 276.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland.*

*Ejusdem ad eundem.*

S. P.

Ex. MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. XVI. p. 23.]

HACTENUS minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataque impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quam antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multo, quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terrâ habeo, alterum pene sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam et difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergo per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristolium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium: vix ut quarto demum mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies[41], nescio quid, ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in digressu salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi: regina optime animata: populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, potius, quam ut relinquant papam, quem toties jam antea adjurârunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causâ faciunt, quam nullam habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutatâ religione passim abstinent a cœtu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil supra. Omnino sperant, et prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosissimum,

[41] [This letter is no doubt that which appears in Number LII. without date.]

et valde deditum futuritionibus ista non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quod res nostræ eo jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt.

In Scotiâ fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellitibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo, vestes scenicæ, calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: ne vestigia quidem priscæ superstitionis et idololatriæ relinquuntur. Quid quæris? audisti sæpe, σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν: hoc vero est σκυθιστὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se regem Scotiæ et, hæredem Angliæ, si quid reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitus. Id mirari non debes, si nostri homines moleste ferant: et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. Fortasse, ut fit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si sit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ,——sed desino divinare.

D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minus amice, quam si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur episcopi. Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfordiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Grindalus 276
Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus apostolorum Sarisburiensis. Quod ego onus prorsus decrevi exeutere. Interea in academiis mera est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potius, quam ut velint in religionem consentire.

Sed comites jamdudum exspectant, et clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi pater, et dulcissimum decus meum; saluta venerandum virum, et mihi mille nominibus in Christo colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberem, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque pistolettos aureos a B. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderer angustiâ temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantum video, ita sunt difficiles, ut neseiam, an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi pater, vale. Quantum ego tibi optare possum, tantum

vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque et Martyrillum meo nomine [saluta].

Londini calendis Augusti 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus,
Tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro longe doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacram theologiam in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number LII. [p. 277.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, before he went his progress into the western parts of England.*

*Ejusdem ad eundem.*

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. IX. p. 13.]

Et quid tandem ego ad te scribam? nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, 277 quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. ô Tigurum, Tigurum, quanto ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quam unquam de Angliâ, cum essem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in patriâ nostrâ simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam *ἄφατα καὶ ἀδιήγητα*. Verum *πολλάκι . . . τό κακὸν κατακείμενον ἐνδὸν ἄμεινον*.

De religione transactum est, utinam bonis auspiciis, ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in papistis fuit. Ita misere comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verum etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, a nescio quibus, nos enim non advocamur in consilium, serio, et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem: et clamant, dimidium plus toto.

Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Socræus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis. Nam Bonerus jussus est cedere: qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu de vino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interim nostri *καιροφυλακτοῦσι*, et pollicentur sibi, ista non fore perpetua. In Scotiâ, nescio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione: nobiles ejectis monachis occupâsse monasteria: et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in

tumultu occidisse: reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotiâ mos solennis, si quem velint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio. Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formandâ religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: alii alio. Regina non vult appellari caput ecclesiæ, quod mihi certe non displicet. Interim, quid *il cavetso della Chiesa cogitet*, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odiosissime pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui a nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustâsse de missâ.

*Qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedite, queis est*
*Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde, furit:*

Vident erepto illo palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum octo post annos redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili, et robustâ fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine exspectamus pignora e Galliâ. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hoc tempore Succus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi. Mitto Pikerinum hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt ut scis μυστικώτερα: et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet matrimonia esse fatalia.

Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Bernardinum, D. Muraltum, D. Volphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem reginæ misisti dono redditus est a D. Cæcilio: ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aulâ, diligenter
278 exquiro, numquid illa velit: et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas.

Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint[42].

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ, domino suo colendissimo.* *Tiguri.*

[42] [The letter has no date, but the allusion to it in Number LI. fixes it about the middle of July 1559.]

## Number LIII. [p. 281.]

*A declaration made by the confederate lords of Scotland to the queen of England; of their taking arms against the queen dowager of Scotland, and the French.*

Cotton lib. Calig. B.X. fol. 27 b.

It may be, that on the French part it will be said, that it behoveth them to subdue the rebellion in Scotland; and to that end only they bring all this power thither: first it may be, and that truly said, the beginning and ground, yea, and the proceeding hitherto being truly considered, is no rebellion. For true it is, that when the French king had long sought to compass the young queen of Scotland, and to have her carried out of Scotland into France, there was great difficulty made in it by the Scotts, and at length brought to pass only by the continual travail of the mother, being dowager queen; partly by corruption with money, partly by authority, partly by fair promises; and yet was the matter thus ended, that before her person could be transported thence, assurance was made by treaty, by oath, by parliament, by the great seal of Fraunce, by the seal of the dolphin, that Scotland should not be otherwise governed but by the laws, by the nobility, by the people of the land; that the offices of the land should remain in the nation of Scotland; that no garrisons should be kept by the French. After that time much labour and practice was made by the queen dowager to procure the favour of the nobility of Scotland, to accord to the marriage of the queen with the dolphin; and finally that obtained in a parliament in Scotland, and was the crown assigned to the queen, and the heirs of her body; and for default thereof, to the duke of Chastellerault, and his heirs, and so he declared the second person. Then 279
also was on the part of Fraunce oaths taken, charters delivered under the great seal of Fraunce, and confirmed by the young queen under her seal, and by the dolphin under his seal, that Scotland should be governed by the council of the land; that
[fol. 28.] no liberties should be violated; that Edenburgh castle should be delivered to the lord Arskin to be kept, for the preservation of the rights of the realm: and Dubritton castle should be

delivered to the duke for his interest as heir apparent. These things were done, and duplicates made of the grants of Fraunce. One part delivered to be kept in Edenburgh castle in the treasury; the other delivered to the duke: hereupon an embassy was sent in anno 1558, of eight persons, two bishops, two earls, three lords of Scotland, and the marriage then concluded in Fraunce; which done, there was attempted that the embassy should return home, and in parliament obtain, at the young queen's request, that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dolphin her husband; which matter, the embassy so much misliked, and utterly refused; alleging that it could never be obtained; that in the end they were thus abused, it was devised they should return, and procure that a matrimonial crown should be granted to the king: by which words they were made believe there was a great difference; and yet they could not like the matter, but required leave to return home, and they would do that they might.

In their departure at Depe, their number was made in one night suddenly less by one bishop, two earls, and two barons, and so departed home the other three, much amazed at the matter. At their return, the dowager queen practised all the ways she could in parliament, to obtain this purpose; which she sought by two ways, one by rewarding of those who had not received favour of the duke in time of his governance, partly for the favour they bare at that time to Englande, part for other respects; and so set an enmity betwixt the duke and them. One other way she offered to certain of the lords a permission to live freely according to their conscience in religion; and at length she became very strong, and in parliament obtained this matrimonial crown, with these conditions, that the duke's right should not be impaired thereby. Thus proceeded [fol. 28 b.] she towards her purpose, and daily usurped against the liberties and promises made. She spared not to begin with the greatest. She committed to prison the chancellor of the realm, the earl Huntley; being one of the principal friends to the duke. She took a great fine of him, and took the seal from him; committed it to one Rubay, a Frenchman, an advocate of Paris. Not content therewith, she committed the said earl to prison, until she had put him to a great ransom; which she took of him: and to flatter him, gave him the name of chancellor,

and put the office in Rubaye's hands. Next to this, she hath taken the office of the comptroller of the whole realm, to whom belonged the charge of the whole revenues of the crown; and hath also committed it to another Frenchman, a servant of her own, named *Vulemore*. She hath also sequestered all matters of counsel of the governance of the land, from the Scottish men born, and retained all the secreties to French men. But these were but small things if greater had not fol- 280
lowed. Having peace with Ingland, she kept all the garrisons of French men still in the country, who lived upon discretion; which was a new offence to Scotland. Wages they had none out of Fraunce at all: the revenue of the crown, which was not great, was sent into Fraunce; and to pay the French band, a new device was made. She procured out of France a certain number of franks, being altogether in a certain coin of sowces, which had been, for their evilness, decried and barred in Fraunce two years before, and were but bullion: these she made current in Scotland, to pay the soldiers. She also erected a mint, and therein abased a great quantity of the Scottish money, and therewith also paid her soldiers. In that mint also she specially permitted certain of the principals of the French to coin their own plate, to their own most advantage: which matter both did notable great hurt in all Scotland, and much offended the realm.

[fol. 29.] Now follow the practices of the queen with divers noblemen, to become parties against the duke: means was made, first to have won the lord Arskin, to deliver the castle of Edenburgh; next, to have stolen it: but this prevailed not. In this season, and before also, which had much exasperated the people of the land, the queen gave away abbeys, that fell void, to French men: some to her brother, the cardinal Guise, some to other. And generally, she hath kept in her hands these three whole years, almost all the ecclesiastical dignities that have fallen void; saving such as were of any value, which she gave to Frenchmen. Generally she governed all things so, as she never would in any matter follow the counsel of the lords and nobility, which, at her first coming to the regiment, were appointed to be of council. Against these her doings, many intercessions were made by the nobility, both jointly together in good companies, and advices also given apart, by such as

were sorry to see that this governance would be so dangerous, as it could not be borne: but nothing availed. And there followed a practice, of all other most dangerous and strange, and, for a personage of honour, of great indignity. The principal matter that was coveted by the queen, was to have cut away the duke, and his house, and to make a party against him: by persuasion this was devised. The lord James, being a bastard, son of the last king, a man of great courage and wisdom; and certain earls and barons of the realm; in whom were considered these two things, no great love towards the duke, nor certain ceremonies of the church; and yet being men of courage, were borne in hand by the queen, that she herself would bear with their devotion in religion, and upon condition that they would join with her governance against the duke, for the favour of Fraunce, they should live freely according to their conscience in religion, without any impediment. Hereupon they were somewhat boldened, and thereby [fol. 29 b.] incurred the censures of the church, and were also, by a private law of the land, ignorantly in danger of treason: whereupon process was made, they endangered. And then was it time for the queen to tempt them to forget their country, and
281 become French.

But when no enticement could prevail, then began she to threaten them with the law, and would needs declare them traitors. This matter the queen pursued; taking it for a great advantage. But, for their defence, the nobility of the realm made much labour. Nothing would stay the queen; but forthwith she produced her garrisons to the field, proclaimed them traitors, gave away their lands, entered with men of war into a principal town, called St. Jhon's Towne, changing the provost of the town, against the will of the burgesses; and left there four bands of men of war, to fortify her new provost. And then finding the whole realm much offended herewith, and charging her daily with misgovernance, and violating the liberties of the realm, and her power there not sufficient to proceed, as she meant, to conquer the land; she sent for the duke and the earl Huntley, and pretended in this necessity a new good will to them; who travailed for her, and stayed all the adverse part in quietness: and then she promised all matters to be stayed and redressed at parliament

the next spring: and promised also divers other things for the benefit of the land. And then the duke and the earl Huntley took upon them to make a quiet with the adverse part. And whilst this was in doing, the duke's son and heir was sought and sent for to the court in Fraunce: from whence he was certainly advertised by divers of most secret knowledge, that his ruin should follow, and that he should be accused and executed for matters of religion. At the length he abode, until certain of good authority were depeched from the court, to bring him either quick or dead. Before their coming, he escaped, without danger: and they took his younger brother, a child, about fifteen years of age, and com-
[fol. 30.] mitted him to prison. In this time, things being well appeased in Scotland, and every nobleman returned to their countries, by the duke's means principally, who showed most favour to the queen, and had gaged his faith to the nobility of Scotland for keeping of all things in quiet until the parliament; there arrived certain bands of soldiers out of Fraunce into Leethe; whose coming made such a change in the queen, as she newly caused the town of Leeth to be fortified, being the principal port of the realm, and placed twenty-two ensigns of soldiers, with one band of horsemen, therein. Hereupon the nobility challenged the duke: who had nothing to say; but entreated the queen, by his most humble letters, to forbear these manner of doings; wherein he could not prevail. The force of the French was then increased, Leeth fortified, all munition carried into the town, nothing left to the Scotts, whereby either well to defend themselves, or to annoy the town. Beside this, out of Fraunce there came daily French power by sea; yea there went also, not denied by the queen's majesty of Ingland, captains by land through England. Well, at the length the duke and all the nobility made new intercession by their letters, that she would forbear this fortification: for otherwise her purpose of conquest would appear to the whole realm; whereupon would grow great disquiet. But her comfort grew so 282
great out of Fraunce, that she despised all requests. And thus came the matter to the terms which the French courted: for now thought they but three or four days' work to subdue Scotland: whereunto nevertheless besides their own power, she entertained two or three mean lords, such as lay betwixt

Leeth and Barwick, which was the earl Bothwell and lord Seton, who be the only two, of all the nobility of Scotland, that keepeth company with the queen; and yet, as they do notify themselves by their doings, have their hearts with their countrymen. And now the duke and the rest of the nobility, with the barons and burgesses of the realm, finding no hope of remedy at her hand, but perceiving an imminent danger to [fol. 30 b.] the realm, which could not be avoided by any entreaty, assembled themselves, as regrating the afflicted realm. And being by inheritance principal estates and counsellors of the realm, they began deeply to consider, on the one part, the right of their sovereign lady, being married to a strange prince, and out of her realm, in the hands of Frenchmen only, without counsel of her own natural people; and therewith the mortality of her husband, or of herself, before she could have issue: and on the other side, what the dowager, being a French woman, sister to the house which ruleth all in Fraunce, had done, attempted, and daily persisted in ruinating unnaturally the liberties . . . . of her daughter, the queen, for ambition, to knit that realm perpetually to Fraunce, whatsoever became of her daughter; and so to execute their old malice upon England, the style and title whereof they had already usurped; were in the end constrained to constitute a council, for the governance of the realm, to the use of their sovereign lady: and therewith humbly to signify to her the reasonable suspension of the dowager's authority; which to do, and maintain, they have of themselves, as natural subjects abidden inconvenient strength, being sore oppressed with the French power; which until this present day they do, as their powers can endure; being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meanest force of Fraunce: so as although they have been of long time occasioned thus to do; and now for safety, as well of their sovereign's right, as of the ancient right of the crown, have been forced to spend all their substance, to hazard their lives, their wives, children, and country: yet can they not longer preserve themselves and the realm from conquest, by this power that now is arrived in Scotland, and is in readiness to be sent thither before next spring. And therefore they have communicated their whole cause to certain of the queen's majesty's ministers upon the borders, and seek all the [fol. 31.]

ways they can, how they might, without offence of her majesty, commit their just and honourable cause to the protection of her majesty, only, requiring this, that the realm may be saved from the conquest by Fraunce, and the right of their sovereign lady preserved, with all other rights of their nation of Scotland depending thereupon.

*August*, 1559. 283

*The petition of the lords of Scotland signed with their own hands.*

We desire that the whole numbers of French men of war being presently within this realm, may be removed with speed; that we may in times coming live quietly without fear of their trouble.

*Item*, That we may have place to suit of the king and queen our sovereigns such articles as are necessary for us, for pacification and perfect government of the realm without alteration of our ancient liberties.

James Hamilton.
[43] James Hamilton.
Ar[d] Argyll.
Glencarn.
[44] James Stewart.
[45] Alex. Gordon.
[46] Johne of Menteht.
R. Boyd.
Uchiltre.
Jhone Maxwell.
Ruthven.
[47] James Stewart.

[43] The earl of Arran always signs thus, for the title of Arran was in his father at that time. [James Hamilton is written here in two hands, not the least resembling each other. The author printed the name only once.]

[44] This seems to be lord James, afterwards made earl of Murray.

[45] The earl of Huntley's son.

[46] Cannot be read. [The author printed only John. The signature which he could not read is that of the earl of Menteith.]

[47] Probably the earl of Athol's son.

## Number LIV.[48] [p. 286.]

*A short discussion of the weighty matter of Scotland, August, 1559.*

In sir William Cecil's hand.

QUESTION. Whether it be meet that England should help the nobility, and protestants of Scotland, to expel the French: or no? Cotton lib. Calig. B. x. [fol. 32.]

284 That No.

I. It is against God's law to aid any subjects against their natural prince, or their ministers.

II. It is dangerous to do it; for if the aid shall be no other than may be kept in secresy, it cannot be great; and so consequently it shall not suffice. If it shall be open, it will procure wars, and the end thereof is uncertain.

III. It may be doubted that when aid shall be given and money spent[49], the French may compound with the Scots, and pardon that error, to join both in force against England; which is more easy to be believed, because[50] had rather make a shameful composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoined and united to the crown of England.

IV. It may be doubted, that to stay the progress of religion, against the see of Rome, the emperor, the king catholic, the pope, and potentates in Italy, the duke of Savoy, will rather

[48] [There are two copies of this discussion in the volume from which the author printed this document. They agree as far as the paragraph beginning 'Upon these two principles.' After that they differ materially, the first being much longer than the second from which Burnet printed. Both are in Cecil's handwriting. The other is printed in Keith's Appendix, p. 24. Keith observes that 'Sir William Cecil was the author of this Discussion (as he calls it), and it is all written in his own hand.' He notices the variation in the copy printed by Burnet, and professes his inability to account for it. Keith afterwards gives it in Appendix, p. 44.]

[49] [In the first document, over *aid* is written (*b*), and over *and* (*a*), as if the writer intended the clauses to be transposed. In the second it is exactly as here.]

[50] [*they* has been accidentally omitted by the writer, and was supplied by the author.]

conspire with the French king, than to suffer these two monarchies to be joined in one manner of religion. And in this part may be doubted that many, as well Scottes as English, that can like very well to have these two kingdoms perfectly knit in amity, will not allow them to be knit in a like religion.

That yea.

I. First, It is agreeable, both to the law of God and nature, that every prince and public state should defend itself; not only from perils presently seen, but from dangers that be probably seen to come shortly after.

II. Secondly, Nature and reason teacheth every person, politic or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth in offence.

Upon these two principles agreed will evidently follow, that England both may and ought to aid Scotland to keep out the Frenche.

1. First, The crown of England hath a good title to the superiority of Scotland; and ought to defend the liberties thereof, as the emperor is bound to defend the state of Millane, or of Boheme, being held of the empire. And to prove this superiority, remain undoubted proofs under seal, of sundry homages done to this crown by the kings of Scotland successively, of their accesses to the parliaments of England, of the episcopal jurisdiction of the see of York over Scotland: in con- 285
sideration whereof, if it may appear that the French mean to subdue Scotland, and so to exempt that realm from the amity of England, it seemeth that England is of duty, and in honour bound to preserve the realm of Scotland from such an absolute dominion of the French.

2. *Item*, Beside this interest that England hath in the crown of Scotland, from the quiet possession whereof, France hath only by their wars kept the realm of England[51]. It is most manifest that France cannot any wise so readily, so puissantly, so easily offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they may recover an absolute authority over
[fol. 86.] Scotland: and before that be proved, it seemeth not out of order, though not very needful to make manifest that the

[51] A word seems wanting, probably, *in danger*. [The author had here mistaken the reading of the MS.]

French are to be taken as enemies in will, though not in manifest words.

How long time they have been enemies to England, how brickle, how false, how double their pacts of peace have been, the stories be witnesses these seven hundred years. Was there never king of England, with whom they have not made wars. And now of late, upon what occasion they made peace with England is too manifest. It was by reason of weariness and poverty, which was such, as the late French king forbare not to express in his letters to the queen of England, mentioning the invasions made in Bryttane by sea. And indeed this is to be received as a principle, that France cannot be poor above one or two years, neither can so long be out of wars. The revenues of the French crown are things unknown: the insolency of the French nation, being in hope of victory, is not unknown.

The long oldrooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king's authority, against England hath been often well understand.

And to come nearer to the matter; it is manifest many ways what manner a plot that house hath made to bereave the queen's majesty of her crown. In queen Mary's time, the French did not let to divulge their opinions against this present lawful title of the queen's majesty; and as it was well known, had not Almighty God favoured the queen's majesty to come to the crown with such universal joy of her people, the French had proclaimed their title both in France and Scotland.

And likewise in the treaty of the peace at Chasteau in Cambresy, it appeared what they would have compassed, when they pressed the Burgondions to conclude with them, and overpass the treaty with England; alleging, that they could not tell how to treat with England, but to the prejudice of their right; the dolphyness daughter, then having right to the crown of England. How bold they would have been, if at that time she had been queen of France, and her husband king, as he now is! For then the wisdom of the constable governed the rashness of the Guisians.

Since the peace concluded, whilst the French king lived, what means they made at Roome to have made the queen's

majesty to be declared illegitimate, is manifest; and so as it is known that the same sentence is brought into France under the pope's bulls.

Likewise, at the[52] confirmation of the peace betwixt Spayne and France, at the solemnities even when the French king was 286
slain, it appeareth what manifest injury and dishonour they did to the queen's majesty, to assign the arms of England and Ireland to the French queen, and that in all their pageants: and being admonished thereof by the ambassador, would neither make colourable excuse, nor leave it; *but both continued therein, and also to ratification of the peace with that style*, despite the queen's majesty's ambassador: and *Mr. Mewtas served them* with silver vessel stamped with the same usurped arms. How lightly they have esteemed the queen's majesty, in all this time appeareth: for where they be bound by treaty to deliver four hostages, notwithstanding that they have[53] pressed thereto, they have sent but three; whereof one or two be such, as if they had not been here; but whether the queen's majesty had not suffered the dishonour, to have one of her subjects murdered, and no redress thereof, but as it appeared when they had committed the murder, they disdained, and quarrelled against such as did but seek to understand the offenders[54].

Now the very cause why they stay the prosecution hereof is this, their interruption and parboyle unlooked for in Scotland, which doth so occupy them as they neither can ne dare to utter their former malicious purpose until that be ended.

[fol. 87.] But surely beside their old cankered malice to this realm, this matter so inflameth the house of Guise, that they will not forbear one day longer than of mere necessity they shall be constrained, to borde this realm with that feigned title. And to advance the same, it is known that they have sent a great seal into Scotland with the arms, and very style and title of England and Ireland, and what more manifest arguments can be to show what they mean and intend than these? In princes' practices it is mere childishness to tarry until the practices be

[52] [Here the words *marriage of the king dolphyn* have been erased.]

[53] [*been* was supplied by the author, but does not appear in the MS.]

[54] [From *How lightly* to *offenders* has been added, partly between the lines, partly on the margin.]

set abroad, for then were it as good to tarry till the trumpet sound wars. All things have their causes proceeding before, but nothing hath his causes proceeding more secretly than the practices of princes; and of all other none is so conning as the French.

It followeth to be considered, that now the French have no convenient way to invade England but by Scotland. By Carlisle they were accustomed. By sea is not so convenient for them, the same being too chargeable for them to assail: wherefore if it be seen that they will pursue their purpose and that by Scotland, then reason must force England to confess that to avoid this danger so apparent, can no way be devised, but to help that the French have not such rule and overhand in Scotland as that they may by that realm invade England.

Lastly, Is to be considered how dangerous it is for England to be invaded by the way of Scotland.

First, If the French shall present to England a battle, either they will do it with strangers, or French and strangers: if they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this crown. And though they lose, yet do they not put their own king- [fol. 87 b.]
dom of France in danger. And therefore it is double the danger for England to venture a battle upon the frontiers of England, to a battle upon the marches of Calise or Bulloyness.

287 A conclusion.

It seemeth the weightiest matter to be considered, that either hath or can chance to England, What is presently to be done for the aid of Scotland: for if it should be needful the delay will aventure the whole: and if loss come, it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the cause were well and secretly weighed: first, by discreet and wise men, that have experience, affection to the English nation, special love to the queen's majesty's person; and that done, to send by some colour for the nobility, and to consult with them, or else to send some trusty persons with credit to understand their minds.

## Number LV. [p. 287.]

*The Bond of Association, with this title,* Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.

*Copied from the original at Hamilton.*

[Harl. 289. fol. 70.] At Edinburgh, the twenty-seventh of April, the year of God one thousand five hundred threescore years: we whose names are underwritten, have promised and obliged ourselves faithfully, in the presence of our God, and by these presents promise, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special, by himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we may do, shall set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word; and procure, by all means possible, that the true preaching of God's word may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word. And suchlike deeply weighing with ourselves the misbehaviour of the French ministers here, the intolerable oppressions committed by the French men of war, upon the poor subjects of this realm, by maintenance of the queen dowager, under colour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest, in which this country presently stands; by reason of divers fortifications on the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attempted by them; promise that we shall all[55] as well every one with other, as altogether with the queen of England's army, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concur and join together, taking one fold and plain part of the[56] expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our liberty, forth of this realm, and recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end in[57] time coming, we may, under the obedience of the king and queen our sovereigns, be only ruled 288
by the laws and customs of the country, and by the[58] men of the land: and that never any of us all[59] have privy intelligence, by writing, message, or communication, with any of

[55] [*all* om.] [56] [*for*] [57] [*that in*] [58] [*born*]
[59] [*ane of us shall*]

our said enemies or adversaries in this cause, but by the advice of the rest (at least of five) of our numbers[60]: attour, that we shall tender this present[61] cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the cause of every one of us now joined together, being lawful and honest, shall be all our causes in general: and he that is[62] enemy to the cause foresaid, shall be enemy to us all: in so far, that whatsoever person will plainly resist this our godly enterprise, and will not concur as one good member of this commonweal; we shall fortify the authority of the council, to reduce them to their duty. Like as we shall fortify the said authority of the council, in all things[63] tending to the furtherance of the said cause. And if any particular debate, quarrel, or controversy, shall arise, for whatsoever cause, bygone, present, or to come, betwixt any of us, (as God forbid,) in that case, we shall submit ourselves and our said questions to the decision of the council, or to arbitrators to be named by them. Providing always, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinary jurisdiction of judges, but that men may pursue their actions by order of law civilly or criminally, before the judges ordinaries, if they please.

[In witness of the which we have subscribed this present band with our hands, day, year and place above written.

James.
James Hammylton.
Huntley.
Ar^d. Ergill.
Glencarne.
Rothes.
Mortoun.
A. Gordoun.

James Jhonsoun, *Apperand of Elphistoun.*
Patryk Dowglas.
Robert Campbell.
Andro Jhonstoun.
Robyn Car.

Alex^r. Dunbar *of Cumnok.*
Graytly.
W^m. Douglas *of Whyttindyin.*
George Hwme *of Spott.*
James Stewart.
Jhon Montey^t.
Ruthwen.
R. Boyd.
Ogylwye.
Vchiltrie.
Jhon Maxvel.
Patryk Lyndsay.
Jhon Maister Phorbes.
Lord Somerwell.
James Halyburtoun.

[60] [*the council*] [61] [*common*] [62] [*shall be*] [63] [*in all things* om.]

Jhon Gordoun, *of Finlatter.*
Alex^r. Seton, *Zoungar of Meldrum.*
Henry Grahame, *Zoungar of Morphy.*
Alex^r. Gordoun *of Abyrzeldy.*
Drumlaynryk.
Farnharst.
Craynston *of that Ilk.*
Wedderburne.
Alex^r. Hwme.
Jhonstone.
George Nysbyt, *with my hand at the pen.*
Cunnynghaymheyd.
Leslye *of Bowquhane.*
Jhon Innes *of that Ilk.*
Arthur Phorbes.
W^m. Lesley *Zoungar of Wardes.*
Jhon Wishart.
Drumloytquhe.

Cesfuird.
Hundhill.
Mark Kar.[64]]

[64] [The copy of this document which is in the Harleian Collection was apparently made for Cecil, as it is dated in the margin in his hand 27 Apll. 1560, a°. 2°. Eliz. It is endorsed in the same hand 27 Apll. 1560. On the back of it are the words, 'The copie of the band amangis the nobilite of Scotland,' and also in a different hand 'May it please your grace there are many more that have subscribed unto this band which my lord lieutenant here intendeth to send your grace by the next.' There is also on the back an endorsement in the same handwriting with the rest of the document, 'The copie of the bande amongest the nobilitie of Scotland.' The document is written on one sheet, folded at the middle, and pasted on parchment, on which there is, in a different hand again, 'A confederatyon in Scotland for the Kynge, 27 Aprill 1560, 2 Eliz.' The author appears to have been unusually accurate in his copy of this document, which has been printed professedly from his text in Keith's History, vol. i. p. 273; and also by Crawfurd, in his Appendix to 'The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland,' Number XII. p. 444. The variations given in the notes are those of the Harleian copy, omitting such as were manifest mistakes. The names of the subscribers have been added from the same MS. They have also been given by Mr. David Laing, in his edition of Knox's Works, vol. ii. p. 63. In some few instances the present editor has printed the names, which are very difficult to read, differently from Mr. Laing. It is unfortunate that the copy of the band, as originally given by Knox, was altered in some instances by the editor to correspond to Burnet's text. The variations are, however, unimportant. A few of the signatures are original. The copy given by Knox in his History, p. 439. 8vo. 1584, is independent, and has a few slight variations not worth noticing. A very imperfect copy of this edition, with MS. notes by Sir Roger Twysden, is in the British Museum, C. 25. c. 10. It has at the end of the volume, 'The Confession of faith used in the English Congregation at Geneva, Approved and Received by the Churches of Scotland.']

## Number LVI. [p. 288.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, setting forth the progress that superstition had made in queen Mary's reign.*

*Juellus ad Martyrem.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1579. Ep. XIX. p. 25.]

Tandem tamen aliquando Londinum redii, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quod nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego vero interea tres totos menses longinquâ, et perdifficili legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolii, redditæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster adduxerat: ita amice scriptæ, itaque suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorsus eriperent ex animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: itaque ego miser, privatus sum bonâ parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse, video: quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad
289 te vix quintas pervenisse.

Sed de legatione, inquies, illâ vestrâ quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit seges, et sylva superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas reliquias divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant; et, nescio quas portiunculas sacræ crucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat. Ecclesiæ cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius, aut fœdius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent a nostrâ sententiâ. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum considerate videantur mutâsse voluntatem, turbant omnia: sed turbent, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, et de sacerdotiis exturbavimus.

Hardingus, homo constans, locum mutare maluit, quam sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem, sed constanter; hoc est, perinvitus. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquies. *An potest a Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni?* Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret religionem esse immutatam, mutatâ veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est, et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim homo gravis, et columen atque antistes religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est adversarius infestissimus papistarum. I nunc, et nega transubstantiationem. Papistarum acies pene suâ sponte ceciderunt. O, nisi nobis deessent operæ, non male de religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est currum agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso monte.

Heri, ubi primum Londinum redii, audivi ex episcopo Cantuariensi, te invitari ad nos, et tibi lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio: hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonii doceat sacras literas. Equidem te, mi pater, videre percupio, et præsertim in Angliâ. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam prudentiam: nôsti genium, et ingenium insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, esse inchoata, utinam sint bene *μόνιμα*. Nihil est hodie illâ scholâ desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, pene lusisse operam: ita in lætissimâ aliquando segete, nunc *Infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ.* Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissime distrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quam mox editurus sis alias commentationes in librum Judicum, et in duos libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te illos libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere. Succus, et Carolus Ferdinandi filius mirificissime ambiunt. Sed Succus impense: ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noster obiit diem suum, postquam designatus esset episcopus Roffensis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videri novum. Docetur evangelium, ecclesiæ assidue colliguntur, et omnia priscæ superstitionis monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant, se posse et regnum, et religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te 290
alias pluribus. Instat nunc annus sexagesimus, de quo mihi

tu solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Italo, nescio quæ mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπωλείας, et in omnium oculos incurrat evangelii veritas Jesu Christi. Vale, mi pater, et uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex tuis literis, et Abeli nostri prædicatione, notissimam. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse a vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur.

Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex animo,

Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus instantissime rogavit, ut te suo nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latine scribere, non uteretur manu meâ. Crede mihi, nemo de te aut sæpius aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus salutem, et tibi dicit, et uxori tuæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in ecclesiâ Tigurinâ.*

## Number LVII. [p. 289.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the earnestness of some about vestments and rituals.*

*Idem ad eundem.*

S. Pl.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1579. Ep. XXIII. p. 30.]

Biduo, postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de viâ, atque anhelans, nescio quid, ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt a te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: quarum suavissimâ lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certo assidue, et in singulas horas facio, et nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsâ cogitatione, et me- 291
moriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amœnissime colloqui: quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes episcoporum.

De religione quod scribis, et veste scenicâ, ô utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantopere placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrinâ, sine moribus, veste saltem comicâ volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam verâ viâ non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis tenere volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optime scribis reliquiæ Amorrhæorum. Quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri et extirpari possint. Nostræ quidem nec vires a d eam rem, nec voces decerunt. Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significa-

tionem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero, aut loco, quo tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent——. Non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quod noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quod puduerit scribere, nunc uterque gravissime laborat, e quartanâ, sed Ἀρχιμάγειρος, quoniam est naturâ tristiori, multo gravius.

Ingemuisti, pro tuâ erga communem causam pietate, cum audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrûm. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum, et a Scoto, et Thomâ defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa et causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facile intereunt, quæ facile maturitatem assequuntur.

De libro tuo, memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ, fortasse, ut fit, periere in itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, reginam ultro et cupide legisse epistolam, et opus ipsum atque in universum doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum mirifice prædicâsse: librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quid ego dicam? pudet me, nec scio quid respondeam. Tamen regina sedulo sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ valetudine, quâ conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facere. Omnino velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tuâ voce coluisses academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam, et misere habitam eâdem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, deliberationes Saxonicæ, et legationes Segulianæ ista consilia peremerunt. Tamen quidquid est, nihil est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. O utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam, et robur assequantur. Cupio enim, mi pater, te videre, et suavissimis sermonibus, et amicissimis consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius, uti spero, ubi videro quas Samarobrivas, aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimi-
292 dium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut feliciter pariat, et *pulchrâ faciat te prole pa-*

*rentem.* Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum tuum, meumque, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Nostri omnes te salutant.

Londini 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro,*
*D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in scholâ Tigurinâ,*
*domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number LVIII. [p. 289.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, full of apprehensions.*

*Ejusdem ad eundem.*

S. Pl.

Etsi ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem forte audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem a me dimittere. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1579. Ep. XXIV. p. 31.]

Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissime. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola male nata, male auspicata, adhuc stat in lararío principis. Me miserum: res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisque mystice. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius nostræ causæ impense favet. Episcopi adhuc designati tantum sunt: interim prædia pulchre
293 augent fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissime atque optime coluisti, miserrime nunc disjecta jacet, sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ullâ literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, ex animo, atque unice cupio, auctor sum, ut si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego prudentiam tuam: et tu vicissim, spero, observantiam erga te meam. Equidem hoc possum vere affir-

mare, neminem esse hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit, quam mihi. Tamen, ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quam præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parum opportune. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terrâ marique juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nôsti enim, Tum *tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.* Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortasse non minoribus excipietur.

[Scripsit ad me nuper comes Critonis tui Pamphilus e Scotiâ, cum aliis de rebus, tum ut de Frenshamo nostro nescio quid, neque enim id aperte scripsit, ad te scriberem. Visus tamen mihi est de testamento Frenshami scribere aliquid voluisse. De quo quid actum sit, hactenus nescio. Oro tamen te, quoniam nemo isthic est alius, cui possim satis verecunde tantum negotium imponere, ut velis rem eam tibi Julioque tuo esse curæ. Frenshamo autem nostro, si adhuc vivit, cupio bene; sin autem, quod magis puto, quodque ad nos etiam scribitur, est mortuus, spero esse bene. Audio pervenisse Londinum fasciculum quendam librorum tuorum de votis contra Smithum, et in illis unum esse, quem tu ad me miseris nominatim. Equidem librum illum adhuc non vidi: sæpe enim absum Londino, et multum distineor laboribus. Nunc ubicunque est, odorabor. Tibi vero interea pro eo, ac debeo, proque eo, ac humanitas tua postulat, ago immortales gratias. Nolo D. Bernardinus me sui oblitum putet. Fides quidem mea et industria non defuit. Sed omnia quæruntur et conservantur hoc tempore alendo militi. Quinque coronatos Italicos, quos ejus nomine recepi a Barthol. Compagno, reddidi Acontio. Nunc agimus de ejus canonicatu, et bona spes est posse impetrari. Ego Julio meo, si ad nos venerit, omnia polliceor. Moneo tamen, ut exspectet aliquantisper: ne coganur una redire Tigurum. Bene vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et filiolo tuo Ischacco, quem ego huc usque vagientem audire videor, basiolum dato meo nomine. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Vickium, D. Hallerum, D. Volphium, hominem jucundissimum et in amplissimâ civitate nauum D. Frisium, D. Hermannum tuum meumque, Julium, Juliam, et moratissimum nunc puerum Martyrillum. Nostri

nunc omnes pene sunt in dispersione gentium. Grindallus Londinensis, Sandus Vigorniensis, Coxus Eliensis, D. Cocus, D. Vrothus Quartanenses te salutant. Iterum iterumque vale, mi pater[54].]

Londini 16 Novembris 1559.

Jo. Juellus,

Istæ sunt nonæ. Totus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo et longe doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in scholâ Tigurinâ, domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

54 [The author printed only as far as *excipietur*. As he does not in the text state that he intended to omit any part of the letter, the rest has been added from the Oxford edition of Jewel's works, vol. viii. pp. 136, 137. The omission is perhaps accidental, as the author in the text, in giving an analysis of the letter, alludes to one passage in the latter part.]

## Number LIX. [p. 289.]

*The queen's letter to the emperor, concerning her aversion to marriage. An original.*

Paper Office[55].

Nos, in ipsius animi nostri sensus diligenter inquirendo, non invenimus in nobis voluntatem ullam deserendi hanc solitariam vitam, sed potius, juvante Deo, libentem animi inductionem in eâdem diutius porro vitâ perseverandi. Nos certe necessario ad eam ipsam causam eo in his literis utemur sermone, qui cum corde nostro omnino consentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, et benevole interpretetur vestra majestas, admodum rogamus. In 294
quo nostro sermone, si novum aliquid inesse videatur, quod facile potest accidere, si ætas nostra cum reliquis conditionis nostræ rationibus consideretur; nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut subitum consilium suscipere, sed vetus potius retinere videri jure debemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore consensisse ad præclara sane et honorata connubia eripere nos potuisset e certis quibusdam magnis mæroribus et periculis: de quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec discriminis malâ, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi nostri voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud voluimus, vel aperte recusando videri vestram majestatem offendere, vel contra, occasionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente et voluntate non instituimus.

5 Januarii, 1559.

Vestræ majestatis bona soror
et consanguinea,
ELISABETHA R.

R. Ascamus.

[55] [This letter is no longer to be found in the State Paper Office, nor is there a copy of it in the Royal MSS. 13 B. 1. which contains a series of Elizabeth's letters. The author makes this letter of Jan. 5, an answer to one of Feb. 11. The dates are both correct. The mistake lies in supposing this to be an answer to the other, the contents of which shew that it is a rejoinder. The Royal MS. 13 B. 1. fol. 26, has another from Elizabeth, dated Jan. 11, 1559, which is an answer to the proposal made by the emperor on Sept. 29. In this she declines more at length than in the short letter which Burnet has printed.]

## Number LX. [p. 290.]

*A letter of bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr*[56], *concerning the cross in the queen's chapel.*

*Ejusdem ad eundem.*

S. P.

O MI pater, quid ego ad te scribam? Rei non multum est, temporis vero multo minus; sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te auctore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet lis illa cruciularia. Vix credas in re fatuâ quantum homines, qui aliquid sapere videbantur, insaniant. Ex illis, quos quidem tu nôris, præter Coxum, nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de eâ re disputatio. Arbitri erunt ex senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus: hinc Grindallus Londinensis episcopus, et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κεῖται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, et quam gravibus, et solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim sub judice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te episcopus. Eo enim jam
295 res pervenit, ut aut cruces argenteæ et stanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus relinquendi[57].

[Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1579. Ep. XXIX. p. 39.]

[De Frenshamo nostro, quod illum ita humaniter tractâris, ago tibi, mi pater, quas debeo, gratias. Mortuum ex tuis literis primum didici. De ejus pecuniâ, quam moriens reliquit Tiguri, quid scribam, nescio. Neque enim ego testamentum ejus unquam vidi, et Randolphus noster, qui vidit, est nunc in Scotiâ. Tamen si quid erit, ego omnibus modis consultum cupio meo Julio. Atque hoc, quæso, illi significa meo nomine, ut, si quid est, quod Frenshamus non legârit nominatim, partem aliquam apud se retineat, et in eâ re, κατ' Ἀλκόξονον tuum, utatur judicio suo.

[56] [There is an intervening letter from Jewel to P. Martyr, which the author takes no notice of, printed in the Epistolæ Tigurinæ, Ep. XXV. p. 33, dated Dec. 1, 1559.]

[57] [From this word *relinquendi* to *Nosti* had been omitted by the author.]

E Scotiâ varia nunciantur, et omnia satis læta. Idque satis sit hoc tempore uno verbo significâsse. Adhuc enim de rebus singulis explorati nihil habeo. Nos magnas copias habemus in finibus, et terrâ marique Scotis auxilium ferimus. Crito hospes tuus, et ejus comes Pamphilus non stertunt totas noctes. Venit ille Athenas insolens, et placuit Glycerio. Nosti?]

Sed quid ago? destituor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum summum, et popularem episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethorpum Carleolensem, et Bainum Lichefildensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem, ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus rure agit longe gentium; Parkhurstus in regno suo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, reverendissimum patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Volphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium: ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc tempore, si esset otium. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmerus, te salutant, et cum tibi omnia cupiant, nihil tamen magis cupiunt, quam Angliam. Quanquam, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ, crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Bene vale, mi pater, bene vale.

Londini, 4 Februarii 1560.

Tibi deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in scholâ Tigurinâ, domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number LXI. [p. 291.]

*A letter of bishop Sandys, expressing the uneasiness he was in by reason of the idol in the queen's chapel.*

*Edwinus Wigornensis ad Petrum Martyrem.*

Salutem in Christo.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. XXXI. p. 42.]

Quod nullas tam diu, vir reverende, literas ad te dederim, non officii quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, sed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, scribendi munus pro tempore invitus in-
296 termisi, quod cum tabellarii jam sese offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non censeo. Sub Augusti initium, cum literas ad te dedissem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abusus ecclesiæ tollendos, et ritus pietati et veræ religioni consonantes, eidem restituendos, tanquam inspector et visitator, ut vocant, cum principis mandato dimissus; et illic ad Novembris usque initium, assidue in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non sine maximis cum corporis tum animi laboribus versatus, Londinum tandem redii. Ubi novæ rursus curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: opera enim mea in episcopatu Wigorniensi administrando a principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, episcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carleolensem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam episcopatum omnino recusare; at id non licuit, nisi et principis indignationem mihi procurare, et Christi ecclesiam quodammodo deserere voluissem. Sub hæc, *literas tuas*, omni humanitate plenissimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc discederet, respondere distuli; partim, quod res Anglicæ tum temporis non ita mutatæ, sed in eodem quasi gradu consistentes, exiguam scribendi materiam suppeditabant; partim vero, quod novum illud onus (sic enim verius quam honos dici potest) novis curis et negotiis me mirum in modum distrahebat. En diuturni silentii mei causam habes, vir plurimum observande.

Eucharistiæ doctrina hactenus Dei beneficio non impugnata,

nobis salva et incolumis manet, mansuramque speramus. Pro viribus enim et ipse, et alii fratres coepiscopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat controversiæ. Regia majestas, non alienum esse a verbo Dei, imo in commodum ecclesiæ fore putabat, si imago Christi crucifixi, una cum Mariâ et Joanne, ut solet, in celebriori ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni populo facillime conspiceretur. Quidam ex nobis longe aliter judicabant; præsertim cum omnes omnis generis imagines, in proximâ nostrâ visitatione, idque publicâ auctoritate, non solum sublatæ, verum etiam combustæ erant: cumque huic idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignarâ et superstitiosâ plebe adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in istâ re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsûs occasio ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum aberat, quin et ab officio amoverer, et principis indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, pro tempestate tranquillitatem dedit, et ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in ecclesiâ nostrâ vestimenta illa papistica, (copas intellige,) quas diu non duraturas speramus.

Quantum, ex eo quod te tuâque præsentiâ jam destituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic ecclesiæ et religionis negotium, diligenter et sæpissime apud eos, quibus reipublicæ cura imminet, commemorare soleo. Nescio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res gravissimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accersendo statutum video. Semel sat scio reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret: quid vero impedivit, puto te facile ex te colligere posse. Causa Christi multos semper habet adversarios; et qui optimi sunt, pessime semper audiunt. Sacramentum illud unitatis, magnas facit hodie divisiones. Novum tibi conjugium gratulor, atque precor ut felix faustumque sit; quemadmodum et mihi ipsi opto, qui eandem conjugii legem 297
nuper subii. Mirus hic belli apparatus est, partim ad propulsandam Gallorum vim, si forte dum Scotiam sibi subjugare conentur, nostros fines invaserint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, sicubi pacis fœdus nobiscum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in nominis sui gloriam, et evangelii propagationem cedant.

Hæc priusquam Wigorniam me recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me spero, literis tibi significanda duxi. Fusius vero

scripsissem, nisi quod sciam fratrem nostrum Juellum, episcopum Sarisberiensem, sæpe et diligenter de rebus nostris omnibus te certiorem facturum. Si quâ in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi honorande Petre, me semper uteris quoad vixero; imo etiam post vitam, si fieri potest, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæso plurimum meo nomine, clarissimum virum D. Bullingerum. Debeo illi literas, imo omnia illi debeo; et tantum solvam quantum possim, si quando offerat sese occasio. Saluta uxorem tuam, Julium cum Juliâ, D. Hermannum, Paulum et Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia felicia precor. Vale, humanissime, doctissime, ac colendissime D. Petre.

Londini, festinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex animo,
Edwinus Wigorn.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo ac doctissimo viro, Domino doctori Petro Martyri, domino suo plurimum colendo.* *Tiguri.*

## Number LXII. [p. 291.]

*A letter of Dr. Sampson's to Peter Martyr, setting forth his reasons of not accepting a bishopric.*

*Idem ad eundem.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. I. p. 1.]

Ego te per Christum rogo, mi pater optime, ne graveris mihi quam citissime respondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum sit in titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando; *Supremum caput post Christum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c.* Uni- 298
versa scriptura videtur hoc soli Christo tribuere, ut caput ecclesiæ vocetur. Secundo, si regina me ad aliquod munus ecclesiasticum, dico, ad ecclesiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an salvâ conscientiâ recipere possem, quum hæc mihi videantur sufficere excusationis loco, ne in id consentirem. 1. Quod propter disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ defectum, vel pastor, non possit suo fungi officio. 2. Quod tot sint civilia gravamina, episcopatui, vel pastori imposita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) frugum, i. e. redituum primi anni, tum decimarum, ad hæc in episcopatibus tot et tanta insumenda sunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulicis, quæ semper præsto debent esse &c. ut tu nôsti, ut quam minima pars episcopatuum relinquatur, ad necessaria episcopo munia obeunda, nempe ad doctos alendos, ad pauperes pascendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius ministerium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad episcopos præcipue referatur, quod nunc scribo, tanta est in eorum electione degeneratio a primâ institutione, (neque cleri enim, neque populi consensus habetur,) tanta superstitiosi ornatûs episcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto bene ferri possit, si modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit.

Quod ad me attinet, non hæc scribo quasi talia sperarem; immo Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; sed a te fidissimo meo parente consilium peto, quo possim instructior esse, si talia mihi obtingant. Ego sic responderem, Me quidem paratum esse in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inservire concionandi munere, cæterum ecclesiam regendam me

non posse suscipere, nisi ipsa prius justâ reformatione ecclesiasticorum munerum factâ, ministris jus concedat omnia secundum verbum Dei administrandi, et quantum ad doctrinam, et quantum ad disciplinam, et quantum ad bona ecclesiastica. Si autem quæ sit illa reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem.

Simpliciter, mi pater, apud te solum depono cordis mei secreta; teque per Christum rogo, ut mea secreta apud te solum teneas, et mihi quam citissime rescribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa reformatio, et aliquid de ipsâ reformatione.

Literas tuas ad Hetonum mitte: ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterum, te per Christum rogo, ut quantâ poteris festinantiâ scribas. Ego brevi iturus sum versus Angliam[58]. Habemus papistas, anabaptistas, et plurimos evangelicos adversarios, et doctrinæ et piæ reformationi: contra hos, ut tueatur gloriam Christi, promoveatque vexillum Christi, quis idoneus? O mi pater, pro me roga Deum incessanter.

Tuus totus,
Th. Sampson.

Argentinæ, Raptim, 17 Decembris.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro, D. D.*
*Petro Martyri,* *Tiguri.*

[58] [This passage seems to fix the date of this letter to Dec. 17 of the year 1558, because the writer speaks in the following letter of having been a year in England, and this is dated from Strasburg. The author speaks in the text of a reply to it written in November, which is the letter alluded to at the beginning of Number LXIII. That letter has no date except that of the day of the month, Jan. 6; but it must have been written in 1560, as it alludes to that of Peter Martyr, dated Nov. 4, 1559. It is probable there was some other letter subsequent to that of Dec. 17, perhaps somewhat of the same purport, to which Peter Martyr replied.]

## Number LXIII. [p. 292.] 299

*A second letter of Sampson's, expressing great uneasiness that matters were not carried on as he wished.*

*Idem ad eundem.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. XXVII. p. 35.]

Quas scripsisti literas quarto Novembris, ego accepi tertio Januarii. Jam unum annum egi in Angliâ, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne sequens hic annus plus molestiarum mihi pariat. Non tamen solus timeo mihi, sed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo scriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo sanctissimi patres, teque imprimis, D. Petre, pater et præceptor charissime, per Jesum Christum obtestor, ut strenue Dominum deprecari velitis. Hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne veritas evangelii vel obfuscetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, suavissime pater, quod tam sis diligens in scribendo. Satisfecisti tu, satisfecit et D. Bullingerus mihi, in quæstionibus; utrisque immortalis Deus noster rependat. Consecratio episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est: D. Parkerus Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindal Londiniensis, D. Sandus Vigorniensis, notos tibi nomine. Unus alius, Wallus, etiam est episcopus, sed tibi ignotus[59]. Sequentur brevi, D. Pilkintonus Vintoniensis, D. Benthamus Coventrensis, et tuus Juellus Sarisburiensis. Brevi, inquam, ut audio, sunt isti consecrandi, (ut nostro utar vocabulo.) Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egressus, vel ingressus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipse novit, quam hoc aveam. Episcopi fiant alii; ego vellem aut concionatoris solius, aut nullius ecclesiastici munus subire; Domini fiat voluntas. O mi pater, quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex aulâ Christi ministerium; admittatur autem crucifixi imago, cum accensis luminaribus. Altaria quidem sunt diruta, et imagines per totum regnum. In solâ aulâ, crucifixi imago cum candelis retinetur. Et miser popellus id non solum libenter audit, sed etiam sponte imitabitur. Quid

[59] [This was Rowland Meyrick, consecrated bishop of Bangor on the same day with Grindal, Cox, and Sandys, Dec. 21, 1559.]

ego sperem, ubi tres ex novitiis nostris episcopis, unus veluti sacer minister, secundus loco diaconi, tertius subdiaconi loco, mensæ Domini astabunt coram imagine crucifixi, vel certe non procul sito idolo, cum candelis, ornati aureis vestibus papisticis, sicque sacram Domini cœnam porrigent, sine ulla concione? Quæ spes boni, cum a mutis istis idololatriæ reliquiis religionem nostri petere volunt, et non a vivâ Dei voce sonante? Quid sperem ego, cum concionaturis injungi debet, ne vitia aspere tangantur; cum concionatores, si quid dicant quod displiceat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me rapit æstus iste animi? Silendum est. Vix capita nostræ imminentis miseriæ tetigi. Deus æterne, nostri miserere, per Christum Deum et Salvatorem nostrum.

Unicam hanc a vobis quæstionem proponam solvendam: mi pater, te volo uti mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, et D. Bernardinum. Hæc est: Num imago crucifixi, cum candelis accensis, in mensâ Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter adiaphora
300 ponenda. Si non sit, sed pro re illicitâ et nefariâ ducenda, tum hoc quæro, si princeps ita injungat omnibus episcopis et pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas ecclesias imaginem cum candelis, vel ministerio Christi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit? Annon potius deserendum ministerium verbi et sacramentorum sit, quam ut hæ reliquiæ Amorrhæorum admittantur? Certe videntur nonnulli ex nostris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum ministerium, si modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi pater, tuas hic partes unicâ vice age; hoc est, ut quam diligentissime et citissime me certiorem facias, quid vestra pietas hic censet, quæque sit omnium vestrum sententia; tui inquam D. Bullingeri, et D. Bernardini. Hujus auctoritas, ut audio, maxima est apud reginam. Quod si vellet aliquando scribere, hortatum illam, ut strenue agat in Christi negotio: testor ex animo, quod certo sciam (fidenter dico) quod vere filia Dei sit. Opus tamen habet hujusmodi consiliariis qualis ille est: nam quod Augustinus Bonifacio dixit, id fere in omnibus principibus verum est; nempe, quod plures habeant qui corpori, paucos qui animæ consulant. Quod autem ab illo contendo, vellem et a vobis petere si auderem. Ego tamen hâc in re vestræ me subjicio prudentiæ. Callet ut nôsti linguam Italicam; Latine et Græce etiam bene docta est. In his linguis si quid scribatur

a vobis, vel a D. Bernardino, omnino puto rem gratissimam vos facturos regiæ majestati, et operam navaturos ecclesiæ Anglicanæ utilissimam. Deus vos spiritu suo sancto ducat in perpetuum.

Bene vale; et rescribe unicâ hâc vice quam poteris festinanter. Saluta meo nomine officiosissime D. Bullingerum, tuamque uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam scripsi, tantum apud D. Bullingerum et D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores spargi meo nomine. Imo nec hoc vobis scriberem, nisi sperarem aliquid inde boni eventurum. Forsan vel scribetis (ut dixi) vel saltem bonum dabitis mihi consilium in propositâ quæstione. Agite vos pro vestrâ piâ prudentiâ. Iterum vale.

Raptim, 6 Januarii [60].

Tuus ex animo,

Tho. Sampson.

P. S. Si quid scribatur regiæ majestati, vel a te vel a domino Bernardino, vel a D. Bullingero, non quasi vos ab aliquo incitati fueritis scribendum, ut vos melius nôstis. Salutat te ex animo noster Chamberus. Mea uxor quartanâ vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hetonum cum suâ bene valere. Ruri ago inter rusticos, Christum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Springamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo theologo D.D. Petro Martyri, sacrarum literarum professori fidelissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

[60] [The date is fixed for 1560 by the allusion to the consecration of Parker, &c.]

301 Number LXIV. [p. 293.]

*Archbishop Parker's letter to secretary Cecil, pressing the filling the sees of York and Durham then vacant.*

*An original.*

Paper-Office. [Domestic, xiv. Oct.-Dec. 1560.]

AFTER salutations in Christ to your honour,

This shall be instantly to desire you to make request to the queen's majesty, that some bishops might be appointed into the north. You would not believe me to tell how often it is required at divers men's hands, and how the people there is offended that they be nothing cared for: alas they be people rude of their own nature, and the more had need to be looked to, for retaining them in quiet and civility. I fear that whatsoever is now too husbandly saved, will be an occasion of further expense in keeping them down, if (as God forfend) they should be too much Irish and savage. Peradventure, Terence counselleth not amiss, *pecuniam in loco negligere summum interdum lucrum.* I know the queen's highness' disposition to be graciously bent to have her people to know and fear God; why should other hinder her good zeal for money sake as it is most commonly judged. If such as have been named to Yorke and Duresme, be not acceptable, or of themselves not inclined to be bestowed there, I would wish that some such as be placed already, were translated thither. And in mine opinion, if you would have a lawyer at Yorke, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Yonge[61], is both witty, prudent, and temperate, and manlike.

The bishop of Rochester[62] were well bestowed at Duresme nigh to his own country, where their two bishoprics might be more easily provided for, and less inconvenience, though they for a time stood void: and if to the deanery of Duresme, to

[61] [Thomas Young consecrated bishop of St. David's, Jan. 21, 1560, and translated to York the same year.]

[62] [Edmund Ghest bishop of Rochester was not translated to Durham, but in 1571 to Salisbury.]

join with him were Mr. Skynner[63] appointed, whom I esteem learned, wise, and expert, I think you could not better place them. Now if either of them, or any of us all should be feared to hurt the state of our churches, by exercising any extraordinary practising, for packing and purchasing; this fear might sure be prevented. We have old precedents in law practised in times past, for such parties suspected to be bound at their entry, to leave their churches in no worse case by their defaults than they found them, and then what would you have more of us? I have aforetime wearied you in this suit, and till I see these strange delays determined, I shall not cease to trouble you therein. If ye hear me not for justice sake, for the zeal ye must bear to Christ's dear souls, importunity shall win one day I doubt not: for I see it hath obtained even *a judicibus iniquis, quanto magis a misericordibus:* thus concluding, I shall offer my prayer to God that ye may find 302
grace in your solicitations to the queen's majesty for the comfort of her people, and discharge of her own soul.

At Lambeth this 16th of October[64].

Your to my uttermost power,

Matthue Cantuar.

[63] [Ralph Skinner was appointed dean of Durham.]
[64] [The date is 1560. See note [61].]

## Number LXV. [p. 294.]

*A letter of bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the council of Trent, the lord Darnley's going to Scotland, with an account of his mother.*

*Idem ad eundem.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ 1558–1679, Ep. XLIII. p. 59.]

Salutem plurimam in Christo.

Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, mi pater, non solum quod essent a te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verum etiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Galliâ religionis luculentissime describerent: quodque ego me, cum eas legerem, et te ita prope abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquanto te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur, tamen et certiores, et multo etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod a te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quod scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle mutationem in religione aliquam fieri, non tam studio et amore pietatis, quam quod papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodque non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quâcunque causâ ista fiant, modo prædicetur Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multum et evangelium promoverit, et adversarios adfixerit. Quod autem scribis, *Interim* quoddam a quibusdam, et farraginem religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: scio omnes in republicâ magnas mutationes odiosas et graves esse: et multa sæpe a principibus, temporis causâ, tolerari. Atque illud fortasse ab initio non fuit

incommodum. Nunc vero, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utque aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λινοστολίᾳ, obtinere potuissemus: nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus a doctrinâ vestrâ. De ubiquitate enim nihil hic est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt[65].

[De Orothete autem tuo an ego me tibi dicam agere gratias? Equidem non dubito, quin ipse ille, quem notas, si sapit, se multum tibi debere putet. Sed fortasse colliget animos, et patrocinabitur suo Pantacho, et sese parabit ad respondendum, et teque tuumque Palæmonem repudiabit. Laudes illas, quas tu mihi ita cumulate tribuis, non agnosco. Eas tuas potius esse scio, et tibi uni proprie convenire. Tamen, ut ait ille, jucundum est abs te laudari, mi pater, laudato viro. Erat illud non tam judicii testimonium, quam amoris erga me tui: cui ego, etsi non aliis rebus, tamen amore certe respondebo.]

Apud nos, de religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani 303
servant Turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quod si leges æque nunc vigerent, atque olim sub Henrico, facile succumberent. Est genus hominum contumax et indomitum: ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper apologiam de mutatâ religione, et discessione ab ecclesiâ Romanâ. Eum ego librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea fere omnia, quæ apud nos exeuduntur; tanta est typographorum nostrorum negligentia.

Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad concilium: quod, an ullum, aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certe si uspiam, aut ullum est, perarcanum, et valde obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare causas, quibus inducti ad concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis congressionibus et colloquiis, nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis, ad propagandum evangelium.

Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neque adhuc quid velit sciri potest. Tametsi, quo suspiciones

[65] [From *sapiunt* to *respondebo* was omitted by the author.]

nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suecus diuturnus procus, et valde assiduus, nuper admodum dimissus est. Ille, acceptâ repulsâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam: ut, cum apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in vicinià.

Est mulier quædam nobilis, domina Margareta, neptis Henrici Octavi, mulier supra modum infensa religioni, supra etiam rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plus minus octodecim annos natum, summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus mulieris maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum esse a matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: potest inter illos aliquid convenire de nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, papistas aliquid moliri: sperant enim adhuc, nescio quid, non minus quam Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius pontificis hæret adhuc in Flandrià: nondum enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tuto veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquilanus, legatus Philippi, astutus et callidus veterator, et factus ad insidias, satagit quantum potest, ejus causâ, saltem ut audiatur; ne tam procul frustra venerit. Sperat enim uno colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri.

Est puella quædam nobilis, domina Catherina, ducis Suffolciensis filia, ex sanguine regio, eoque nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in testamento, ut si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex eâ, comes Herfordiensis, juvenis, ducis Somersetensis filius, suscepit filium, ut multi putant ex stupro, ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis. Se enim clam inter se contraxisse, et advocato sacrificulo, et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse nuptias. Ea res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sunt veræ nuptiæ, puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem regni. O nos miseros, qui possumus non scire, sub quo domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diu vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi pater, ora Deum, ut rempublicam nostram, et ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi pater, mi pater, vale. Vale, dulce decus meum.

304 Saluta meo nomine uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Wic-

kium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum.

Salisberiæ, 7 Febr. 1562,
Ex Angliâ.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro longe doctissimo, D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in scholâ Tigurinâ, domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

*P. S.* Regina Elisabetha, omnem nostram monetam auream, argenteamque ad pristinam probitatem restituit, et puram, putamque reddidit: opus plane regium, quodque tu mireris tam brevi tempore potuisse fieri.

## Number LXVI. [p. 295.]

### TWO INSTRUMENTS.

The first is, *The promise under the great seal of Francis the IInd. to maintain the succession to the crown of Scotland in the family of Hamilton, in case queen Mary should die without children.*

*An original.*

Francois fils ainé du roy et dauphin de Viennois, a tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut.

Nous ayant de la part de notre tres cher et tres honnoré seigneur et pere le roy de France, entendu que des le dix-septieme jour de Juin, il fit expedier ses lettres patentes, a notre tres cher et tres amé cousin, Jaques duc de Chateleraut, comte de Aran, et seigneur D'ammilton, chevalier de son ordre cy devant, gouverneur du royaume d'Ecosse; par les quelles lettres lui auroit accordé que en cas que notre tres chere et tres amée cousine, Marie reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans hoirs de son corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il succede à la couronne
305 d'Ecosse, et pour y parvenir lui aider et subvenir, desirant notre dit seigneur et pere, que nous veuillons ratifier et approver ladite promesse par luy faite a notre dit cousin, scavoir, faisons que nous voulans singulierement entretenir et observer la foy et parole de nostre dit seigneur et pere, et lui obeïr en tout ce que lui est affecté et recommande, et aussi pour l'amour particuliere, que avons porté et portons a icelui notre dit cousin, et a sa maison pour l'affection quil a toujours demontrée envers notre dit seigneur et pere, et la bien de la couronne de France.

Nous a ces causes, et autres a ce nous mouvant, avons entant que besoin seroit tant pour nous, que pour nos successeurs confirmé et ratifié, confirmons et ratifions par ces presentes, le contenu des dites lettres de notre dit seigneur et pere, du dix septieme Juin, mille cinq cent quarante neuf: promettant en bonne foi, avenant que notre dite cousine, la reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans hoirs de son corps, le laisser jouïr du dit royaume,

et pour cet effet le secourir et aider selon le contenu des dites lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons signé les presentes de notre propre main, et a icelles fait mettre, et apposer notre scel.

Donné a Paris le dixneuvieme jour d'Avril, l'an de grace mille cinq cent cinquante huit.

FRANCOIS.

Par monseigneur le dauphin,

Clausse.

The second is,

*The promise made to the same effect, by Henry the IInd. king of France, before queen Mary was sent out of Scotland. An original.*

HENRY, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, a tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront, salut. Scavoir faisons, que ayant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreables, et tres recommandables services, fait par notre tres cher et tres amé cousin, le comte de Aran, chevalier de nostre ordre, governeur du royaume d'Ecosse, a feu notre tres honnoré seigneur et pere, que Dieu absolve; depuis le trepas du feu roy d'Ecosse, dernier decedé, a nous et a la couronne de France consecutive- 306
ment, et specialement pour avoir moyenné, l'accord du mariage de ma tres cher et tres amée fille et cousine la reine d'Ecosse, avec notre tres cher et tres amé fils le dauphin de Viennois. Pour de nostre part donner a connoitre a icelui notre dit cousin, l'affection que lui portons, et le grand desir que nous avons de le favoriser en toutes raisonnables choses qui le pourront toucher: lui avons par ces presentes en parole de roy, promis et promettons, advenant qu'il plut a Dieu appeller a sa part la dite reine d'Ecosse, sans hoirs issus de son corps, et que par voye de fait avenu que ses ennemis voulussent entreprendre l'empecher, lui ou les siens descendans, de lui par droite ligne, qu'ils ne vinssent a la paisible jouissance de la couronne du royaume d'Ecosse; comme plus proche d'icelle apres le trepas de la dite reine, que nous lui tendrons la main a lui, et aux siens a l'encontre de leurs ennemis quelconque; et les aiderons et suporterons en toutes sortes, selon que requierent les anciennes alliances et confederations, qui ont de tout tems eté et sont

encore entre nous, notre royaume et pais, et celui d'Ecosse. Et quand a l'article du traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit gouverneur, par lequel sommes tenus de le faire, tenir quite et decharger de l'administration, qu'il a euë et aura dudit royaume durant la minorité d'icelle notre dite fille et cousine, sans qu'il en soit autrement comptable, et du tout lui en faire bailler, et delivrer lettres de decharges de la dite dame, par le consentement de notre dit fils son mary, quand elle sera d'age. Nous derechef ratifions et approuvons le dit article par ces presentes, et nous obligeons ainsi le faire ensemble de l'en decharger envers la dite dame et son futur mary. En temoin de ce nous avons signé ces presentes, et a notre main, icelle fait mettre, et apposer notre scel.

Donné a Paris, le dixseptieme jour de Juin, l'an de grace mille cinq cent quarante neuf, et de nostre regne le troisieme.

HENRY,

Par le roy,

De L'Aubespine [66].

[66] [The editor regrets to say that he has been unable to gain access to the Hamilton MSS. These two documents have therefore been printed just as they stand in the original folio, no alterations having been made except in cases of manifest error of transcribing or printing. The accents are arbitrarily omitted or inserted, but in this respect the MS. is probably correctly copied.]

## Number LXVII. [p. 296.] 307

*Instructions to the queen's commissioners treating in Scotland.*

*An original.*

Paper-Office. [Scotland, 1560, June, July, vol. iv.]

AFTER our right hearty commendations, we have received your letters of the 11th of this month[67], and by the same do understand at good length your proceedings with the French commissioners hitherto, and in the end the death of the dowager of Scotlande: for your advertisements whereof, we give unto you, on the queen's majesty's behalf, most hearty thanks: and like as her highness doth well allow your opinion for the signifying unto king Phillippe's ambassadors, that ye be entered into treaty with the Frenche, and are in very good way towards accord, and find not things altogether so hard to be brought to composition as was supposed; so hath her majesty taken order, that one shall be out of hand sent to declare the same unto them, with signification also what her highness hath heard of the dowager's death. As touching the other points of your letter wherein you require her highness' resolution; we have considered the same, and upon report of our opinions to the queen's majesty, her highness hath resolved as followeth; first, in case the Frenche commissioners upon the understanding of the dowager's death, will needs press to return back again without following their commission; her highness in that case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them

[67] [The original of this letter is at Hatfield. A copy of it appears in Haynes' Collection of State Papers, p. 325, London, 1740, folio. The letter is dated from Newcastle, and is signed by Cecil and Wotton, and addressed 'To the right honorable and our very good lords, the lords of the queen's majesty's most honorable privy council.' The author in the text speaks of a letter written to the queen by Cecil and Wotton, but there is no such letter in the State Paper Office nor in Haynes' State Papers; neither is it probable that any such letter was written, as this letter of the 15th of June is plainly an answer to that of the 11th just alluded to.]

by such good means as you can best devise, to continue: if in the end they will needs break off and return, you shall agree they may so do, and thereupon consulting with our very good lord, the duke of Norffolke, and imparting the state of the case unto the lords of Scotland, to take order by their good advice how the purpose intended for expelling the Frenche, and assuring of that realm, according to that hath been heretofore determined, may best and most speedily be brought to pass, which in case the Frenche break off from treaty, her majesty would should be gone through withal without any longer delay or loss of time; the rather for that it appeareth by all advertisements, that the Frenche seek nothing so much as to win time, and draw forth matters in length to serve their purpose withal; which must not be endured:

And where you desire to know what you shall do, if the Frenche commissioners that be with you will require the presence of some of their colleagues in the town; her highness thinketh as you do, that the same is in no wise to be granted, nor the said commissioners that be in Lyth to be suffered to issue or treat of this matter otherwise than is prescribed by
308 your instructions. As touching the last point, where ye desire to know what shall be done in case the said Frenche commissioners shall require assistance of such Scottyshemen as were of the Frenche faction: her highness thinketh fit, if the same shall be demanded, that the lords of Scotlande be made privy thereunto; and in case they and you shall not see some reasonable cause of the contrary, her majesty thinketh, and so do we also, that it may without danger be granted, wherein nevertheless you may use your good discretions as you shall see may best stand with the advancement of her highness' service. And forasmuch as one Parrys, an Iresheman, who hath (as we think you do well enough remember) been a fugitive out of this realm now a long time together, is as we understand come from the French, and hath now yielded himself into the lord Greye's hands: we heartily pray you, in case you may conveniently, to talk with the said Parrys, and understand of him what he can say touching the practices that have been attempted in Ireland, or any other thing concerning the state of the queen's majesty or her realm; and to let us know

what he is able to say therein, to the intent if his meaning and doings shall appear unto you to deserve the same, we may be suitors unto the her highness for his pardon, and for such further consideration of him as his doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most heartily well to fare.

From Grenewich the 15th of June 1560.

Your assured friends,

Winchester. W. Northt.

E. Clynton.

Tho. Parry. Willm. Petre Sr.

Ry. Sakevyle.

## Number LXVIII. [p. 296.]

*The commission of the estates to move queen Elizabeth to take the earl of Arran to her husband.*

*Taken from the original now at Hamilton.*

THE lords of parliament, and others under written, having consideration how the kingdome of England is joined with this, by ane dry Marche, how puissant it is; what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt, by the continual wars be-
309 twixt the two nations; and by the contrary, how profitable their amity may be to us, what wealth and commodity we may obtain therethrough; has thought good, devised and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shall be followed, that is, suit made to the queen of England in the best manner, That it may please her majesty, for establishing of ane perpetual friendship, to join in marriage with the earl of Arrane; being of the lawful blood of this realm, and failing of succession of the queen our sovereign lady's body, next his father, the duke's grace of Chastellerault declared by act of parliament, second person of the realm, heir apparent to the crown; and for that purpose that honourable persons be sent in embassy, from and in the behalf of the estates. And to the effect the suit may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane parliament it shall be devised, that certain ambassadors be sent to her majesty from the estates, to give her highness thanks for the good will she has ever borne to this realm, since she came to her crown, and desire she has that it may continue ane free kingdom in the ancient liberty, sufficiently of late declared, by her support liberally granted for the relief thereof; and for the good quietness we presently enjoy, purchased to us by her majesty's means and labours; and therewithal to desire of her highness strait commandments to her wardens and officers upon the borders, to concur with

ours, for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of theft, with such other things as are necessary for the common weal of this realm: and that the estates give power to the lords of articles, and others underwritten, to dres such commission and instructions as are necessary for that purpose, to be sealed and subscribed by six of the principals of every estate, which shall be as sufficient, as if it were subscribed and sealed by the whole estates; and thereafter the lords of articles, and others under specified, to dres the instructions and commission touching the head of the marriage [in secret manner not to be divulged nor communicated to any person before the ambassadors be despatched towards her majesty.] [68]

| | |
|---|---|
| Ihoñe Archibischop of Sanctandr. | Iames |
| | Ard ergyll |
| R dunkeld | |
| Alexr Byschoip of Galloway | |
| Io. elect. of Ilis | Atholl |
| W. bischop of Dūblane | Mortouñ |
| Iames bischop of Argyll | |
| Iames Stewart | Craufard |
| Ihone hāmilton | Sothjrland |
| . . . . | |
| Mark of Noubotil | |
| Gawin cōmēdator of kilwȳning | Rothes. |
| I Culros | Iohne of Mentetht |
| prior of Lochlevin | |

[68] [This commission has been printed in the Appendix to the 2nd volume of the Acta Parliamenti Scotiæ, p. 605, with the names of the subscribers to the number of 47. It is headed,

*In Parliamento apud Edinburgh —die Augusti MDLX. The principal commission, &c.* a pen having been drawn through the word *principal* and through the last three lines, which are here printed within brackets.]

| | |
|---|---|
| | Lochinwer |
| | Conyghamhed |
| | Ceffurd |
| | ffarnharst |
| Erskyñ | |
| Lord Gordouñ | |
| Ruthueñ &c. | Prowest of Edinburgh |
| Alexander l home | Prowest of dundij |
| Iohn l borthuik | Prowest of Sanctandr. |
| | Prowest of |
| Saltone | Prowest of Aberdeen |
| William lord hay of yester | Prowest of Glasgw |
| Somervell | Prowest of Lynlythqw |
| Wcheltre | Prowest of Iedbrugh |
| Innermeth | Patrek bensoñ comesar for perth |
| R boyd | Iames barroñ |
| lord lyndsay | |
| Patrik lord Gray | |
| Ihone Maxwell | |

## Number LXIX.[69] [p. 297.]

*The queen's majesty's answer declared to her council concerning the requests of the lords of Scotland.*

*In sir W. Cecil's hand.*

The 8th of Decemb. 1560. Caligula, B. x. fol. 133. [al. 141.]

Her majesty reduced the answer into three points.

1. The first was, That where the three estates had sent the lords of Scotland to present their hearty thanks to her majesty for the benefits received this last year by her majesty's aid given to them; her majesty is very glad to perceive her good will and charges so well bestowed as to see the same thankfully accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonably planted that produceth so plentiful fruit, with the which her majesty doth so satisfy herself, as if at any time the like cause shall happen wherein her friendship or aid shall or may profit them for their just defence, the same shall not be wanting. And although in former times it appeared that sundry benefits bestowed upon divers of the nobility here by her majesty's most noble father, had not such success, nor was answered with like thankfulness: yet her majesty doth now evidently see the cause thereof to be for that the meaning of her father's benefits was interpreted, and supposed to be to the discommodity of the land, and these her majesty's be evidently seen to bend directly to the safety of that realm. And so the diversity of the bestowing hath made the diversity in the operation and acceptation of them. 310

2. The second point is, where the same estates have by their parliament accorded, that suit should[70] made for the marriage with her majesty of the earl of Arrayne; her majesty cannot interpret that motion to come but both of a good meaning of the same estates, pretending thereby to knit both these kingdoms presently in amity, and hereafter to remain in a perpetual amity; and of a great good will of the same estates towards her majesty, offering to her the best and

[69] [This document has been printed in Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 9, apparently from Burnet.]

[70] [*be* has been omitted apparently.]

choicest person that they have, and that not without some danger of the displeasure of the French king in so doing: for answer hereunto, her majesty finding herself not disposed presently to marry (although it may be that the necessity and respect of her realm shall hereto hereafter constrain her) wished that the earl of Arrayne should not forbear to accept such marriage as may be made to him for his own weal and surety; and that all other means be used to the continuance of amity firmly betwixt these two kingdoms; whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realms, and in a manner to continue as good amity thereby, as by marriage: for it appeareth, that if every nobleman in Scotlande will well consider how necessary the friendship of this realm is to that, for the preservation of their liberties; they shall chiefly for safeguard of themselves join together in concord with this realm, and so every one particularly minding his own surety, of consequence the love and amity shall be universal; by which means her majesty thinketh the amity may be well assured, though no marriage be obtained. And as to the person of the earl of Arrayne, her majesty surely hath heard a very good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great worthiness, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and lastly, her majesty thanketh the said lords for their pains and travail; and although she doubteth neither of their wisdom nor of the providence of the estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstration of her hearty good will, her majesty cannot forbear to require them not to forget the practices that be past, by such as beforetime sought the subversion of them; and now much more will do it, if there may
311 be left any entry for corruption, by reward, or other scope of practice. And therefore her majesty wisheth that they all do persist, first in a good concord, making their causes common amongst themselves; and not to dissever themselves in any factions, but to foresee well things before they chance: for that her majesty thinketh they prove very true, that darts foreseen hurt very little, or not at all. And for her majesty's part, there shall no reasonable thing be neglected that may further this common action of defence of both the realms against any common enemy.

## Number LXX. [p. 298.]

*A letter of the English ambassador to queen Mary of Scotland, for her ratifying the treaty of Leith.*

Paper-Office. [France, 1561. Jan.–May, vol. xx.]

PLEASETH it your majesty; the same may remember, that at my lord of Bedford's being in this court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalf of the queen's majesty, our mistress, your good sister and cousin, your ratification of the accord lately made at Edinbourough in Scotland. Whereunto you made answer, among other things, that your council being not about you; namely your uncle, my lord cardinal of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affairs, and also for that your majesty had not heard from your council in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear then very shortly; you could make us no direct answer therein. But that hearing from them, and having consulted with your council here; you would satisfy her majesty in the same. Since which time, her majesty having knowledge of the coming to you of the lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her majesty judgeth) you will be advised, both in respect of his rank and estimation in your realm of Scotland, and also for that he hath the honour to be your majesty's brother, and of good credit with you: and nothing doubting of your consultation with my said lord cardinal, and others of your council here since that time; her majesty hath presently commanded and authorized me to put your majesty in remembrance thereof again; and to renew the demand of your confirmation of the said late accord. Therefore I have presently dispatched to you this gentleman, bearer hereof, her majesty's servant: by whom I beseech you to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalf. And upon knowledge of your pleasure, to deliver me the said ratification; and of the time and place, I will not fail (God willing) to resort, whither your majesty will appoint me to come for that purpose.

By demanding of this ratification, as the queen's majesty, 312
my mistress, your good sister, doth shew the great desire she

hath to live from henceforth in all assured good love, peace and amity with you and your realm; so, in her opinion, there is nothing that can argue your reciprocal good will, to answer to the like for your part again, so much as the establishing the same by this knot of friendship which God hath appointed, and hath been chief worker therein, for both your quietnesses and comforts; being now the only refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God long to preserve your majesty in perfect health, honour and felicity.

From Paris, the 13th of April 1561.

[Endorsed

*The copy of my letter to the Queen of Scotland, 13th of April* 1561.]

## Number LXXI.[71] [p. 298.]

*A letter of Mary queen of Scotland, delaying to ratify the treaty of Leith. An original.*

Monsieur L'Ambassadeur,

J'ay leu la lettre, que m'aves escripte par le gentilhomme present porteur, et pour ce qu'estant sur mon partement de ce lieu, je ne puis vous faire responce plustost que à Reims, où j'espere estre au sacre du roy: je ne feray ceste plus longue que pour vous dire, que quant à lord James, qui à este devers moy, il y est venu pour son devoir, comme devers sa souveraine dame, que je suis, sans charge ni commission, qui concerne aultre chose que son droict. Je prye Dieu, monsieur L'ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa garde. Escript à Nancy, le 22me d'Avril 1561. Paper-Office. [Ibid.]

la bien votre,

MARIE.

[71] [This letter is printed in Keith's History, Appendix, p. 91.]

## Number LXXII. [p. 299.] 313

*An original letter of the ambassador's to the queen, upon that affair.*

Paper-Office. [Ibid.]

It may please your majesty to be advertised, that having written this other letter, and being ready to have despatched it to your majesty; Mr. Somer, your highness' servant, arrived here from Nancy in Lorraine, from the queen of Scotland, with answer to my letter, which (by your majesty's commandment) I wrote to her, in such sort, as I have advertised by my former, and therewith sent to your majesty the copies of my letters to the said queen and cardinal of Lorraine. Which her answer being by letter, (having also said as much by mouth to Mr. Somer) together with the said cardinal's answer; I send your majesty herewith. And though your majesty's said servant used the best speech as he could to get some direct answer of her, according to her late promises, putting her also in remembrance of her words to my lord of Bedford, and to me at Fontainebleau: yet other answer nor direction, than is contained in her letter, could he not get of her.

And seeing she hath deferred to make me further answer till my next meeting with her, which she reckoneth shall be at Reims, at the French king's sacre, as appeareth by her said letter; where she and the cardinal told Mr. Somer she minded to be the 8th of Maye; for that it is said the sacre shall be the 15th; and for that your majesty hath commanded me, for some respects, not to be at it; I know not when I shall have the opportunity and means to speak with the said queen for her answer.

Therefore seeing I cannot be at Reims, (as indeed, besides your majesty's commandment, mine indisposition of my body will not suffer me to come there) and also for that (as I hear) the said queen mindeth not to come into these parts this good while; if it would please your majesty to send hither your letters of credit directed unto her, thereby to authorize Mr.

Somer, your majesty's said servant, to demand and receive her answer therein, in mine absence, by reason of my sickness; I take it your majesty shall the sooner have her direct answer. If your majesty find this good, it may please the same to send such your letters hither with good speed, that the answer may be had before she depart again from Reims.

And though I think verily that her answer will be such as I have already advertised your majesty she made to my lord James, (which is a mean to draw the time still into greater length) yet the same, or any other, being made to your majesty by herself; you shall the better know how to proceed with her in the matter afterward.

314 The said queen of Scotland was accompanied at Nancy with the dowager of Lorraine, (whom they call their *Son Altezze*) (the duke and duchess of Lorraine, monsieur de Vaudemont, the cardinals of Lorraine, and Guyse, and the duke d'Aumalle. One of the chiefest causes of her going thither from Joinville, (being eighteen Lorraine leagues off) as I hear, was to christen monsieur de Vaudemont's young son, born lately at Mallegrange, a quarter of a league from Nancy.

I wrote to your majesty, by my letters of the 23rd of this present[72], that the queen of Scotland would authorize my said lord James (as she had told him herself), to have the special charge of the government of the affairs in Scotland till her coming thither: and would, for that purpose, give him commission under her seal. For which commission, and other letters, he left a gentleman of his with the said queen, to bring it after him to this town. The gentleman is returned from the queen with her letters, but hath brought no commission: and I understand that she hath now changed her mind in that point; and will appoint none to have authority there till she come herself. And as to such suits and requests as are made to her for benefices, and such other things as are to be bestowed; she will not dispose of any of them, nor make other answer therein, till her coming thither. Which (it is thought) she doth, to bestow the same upon some such as she shall see worthy of her favour and preferment, and upon others, to win

[72] [A letter of the date April 23, addressed to Cecil to this effect, is still in the State Paper Office. But there is none addressed to the queen.]

them the sooner to her devotion. The special cause why she hath changed her opinion for my lord James (as I hear) is; for that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your majesty, and the observation of the league between your majesty and the realm of Scotland. And also for that she, nor the cardinal of Lorraine, could not win nor divert him from his religion; wherein they used very great means and persuasions. For which respects the said lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed of your majesty.

And seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the queen his sovereign, on your majesty's behalf, and shewed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his sovereign's indignation could waver him, nor great promises win him; your majesty may (in mine opinion) make good account of his constancy towards you: and so deserveth to be well entertained and made of, by your majesty, as one that may stand you in no small stead, for the advancement of your majesty's desire. Since his being here, he hath dealt so frankly and liberally with me, that I must believe he will so continue after his return home. And in case your majesty would now in time liberally and honourably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholding to your majesty; it would, in my simple judgment, serve your majesty to great purpose. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of May, by the way of Dieppe, and mindeth to land at Rye: whereof I thought good to advertise your majesty, that it may please the same to give order for him and his company to be received and accommodated, as appertaineth: which will be well bestowed upon him, for the good report he made of his 315
late reception there, and of the great favour your majesty shewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland maketh account to find a good party in her realm, of such as are of her religion. And amongst other, the earl of Huntley hath promised, that having the duke on his side, he, with such other as he holdeth assured, will be able enough to make head to the contrary part. And so hath he promised to bring great things to pass there, for the queen's purpose and affection.

I understand, (and so gather partly by my said lord James' own words,) that soon after his return home into Scotland, he shall marry the earl marshal's daughter.

As I have written heretofore to your majesty that this realm was in danger of great unquietness among themselves for religion; so the 28th of April, the same began to appear in this town. Certain gentlemen, and others, about a hundred, assembled together in a private house in the suburbs, where they had a sermon, and psalms singing, as is used in such assemblies. Wherewith the people offended, assembled to great numbers, forced the walls of a garden joining to the house; made a great breach with such tools as they could get, and would have entered with violence to have wrought their cruelty upon the gentlemen. The other seeing none other remedy, their persuasions serving to little effect with such an unruly sort, defended themselves with such weapons and harquebusses as they had provided against all events; and so slew seven or eight of the assailants, and defended the house till the justice, and court of parliament of this town appeased and retired the people. And the night following, the defendants shifted themselves away thence, without further harm; hitherto nothing else is done hereupon. What will ensue, it is to be feared. In the mean time the people murmur greatly at the slaughter. And the other part are not a little moved generally, to be so assaulted and molested, contrary to the king's edicts, which permit all men to live according to their consciences, so they give none occasion of slander or offence to the people, or public preaching, and that command all men not to reproach or injure the one the other, for their living in that sort. Between these two parties, the justice is so little feared, and policy hath now so little place, that greater things are to be feared, unless better and speedier order be provided to appease all, than I can see towards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland hath hitherto no great devotion to Ledington, Grange, and Balnaves, whereof I am nothing sorry. But she mindeth to use all the best means she can to win them to her, which she trusteth well to compass.

And whereas I have advertised your majesty that the baron

de la garde should carry this king's order to the king of Sweden: I understand now, that it is to the king of Denmarke, and not to the other.

Having written thus far, I understand, that whereas it was determined that the king should have departed the 28th of 316
April from Fontainebleau towards Reims to his sacre: the same is retarded, by reason that the queen mother is fallen sick of a catarrh. So that both his departure from thence, and the time of his sacre is now uncertain, and dependeth wholly upon the said queen mother's recovery.

Though I take it that your majesty hath received from your ministers in Germany the pope's demand of the princes protestants of Germany, and their answer thereunto; yet having recovered the same here, I thought in my duty to send it to your majesty as I do herewith. And thus I pray God long to preserve your majesty in health, honour, and all felicity.

From Paris the first of May[73] 1561.

Your majesty's humble,
and most obedient,
subject and servant
N. Throkmorton.

[73] [This date belongs only to the last two paragraphs of the letter. The earlier part was written at the end of April, as appears by the expression in the sixth paragraph, 'the 23rd of this present.']

## Number LXXIII. [p. 300.]

*A letter of bishop Jewel's to Bullinger, chiefly concerning the affairs of France, and the queen espousing the prince of Condé's cause.*

*Idem ad Bullingerum.*

Salutem plurimam in Christo.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. L. p. 67.]

Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem literæ tuæ, scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii: quæ quamvis essent *ὑπομεμψίμοιροι*, et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantum quod a te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixe requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego vero, mi pater, et domine colendissime, etsi minus fortasse ad te sæpe scribo quam velim, tamen quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium
317 intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te literas Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim a paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut fit, subsistant forte in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, et postremo uti spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorifice ut debeo de te loqui nunquam desino.

De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset fortasse putidum: omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferuntur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. *Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit.* Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio quâ spe moderandæ religionis, et recipiendæ Confessionis Augustanæ, moratus est principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Galliâ negotium religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse regis, cui illam, cum regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Interea id egit, ut neptis sua, regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, et

munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret: velle se, hâc æstate, honoris causâ venire in Angliam; et æternum amicitiæ fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine. Quid quæris? Putabant festivis colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facile posse a strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea, regina nostra, cum subodorata esset rem omnem, et quid ageretur intelligeret; neque enim id erat adeo difficile, mutare consilium de profectione, a Guisanis paulatim alienari, et ad principem Condensem non obscure inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indigne, consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliose legatum nostrum, proposuit edicta publice, reginam Angliæ insidias facere regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitâsse. Ista, regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sane debuit. Statim aperte agere, legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent. Facilius, et minori jacturâ sanguinis Christiani, tota res posset transigi. Et regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad principes. Est nunc in aulâ legatus a Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur et impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus.

Res Scotiæ de religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec sol, nec luna, nec hyems, nec ver, nec æstas, nec autumnus, satis fecit officium suum. Ita affatim, et pene sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales fere imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt e porcis, ex equabus, e vaccis, e gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos angustius qui- 318
dem provenit, ita tamen ut non possimus multum conqueri.

[Joannes Burcharus rediit ad nos nuper, valde, ut mihi

videtur, afflictus et miserabilis. Ego illi pollicitus sum, quicquid possum: tametsi illum audio non nimium honeste discessisse Tiguro. Misi ad D. Martyrem decem Gallicos coronatos, quos tuo atque illius arbitratu insumi cupio in convivium publicum. Illud munusculum, qualecunque est, obsecro, ut boni consulatis, quodque facitis, ecclesias nostras in vestris precibus Domino commendetis. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Josiam, D. Gesnerum, D. Vuolphium, D. Zwinglium, D. Vuickium, D. Hallerum, D. Frisivm, D. Guldebeccum meo nomine. Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime[74].]

Sarisberiæ, 14 Augusti.

Tuus Christo,
Jo. Juellus Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero summo pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

[74] [The last paragraph was omitted by the author. It has been added here, as the author in the text of the history does not speak of the document as a part of a letter, and perhaps the conclusion was omitted by mistake.]

## Number LXXIV. [p. 302.]

*An extract out of the Journal of the lower house of convocation.*

Acta in inferiori domo convocationis, die sabbati, decimo tertio die Februarii, anno 1562.

Ex MSS. Gul. Petyt. in the Inner-Temple. [No. 538. vol. 47. fol. 574.]

Dicto die sabbati, decimo tertio die Februarii, in inferiori domo convocationis cleri provinciæ Cantuariensis, post meridiem horâ constitutâ convenerunt frequentes dominus proloquutor cum cæteris infra nominatis, ubi post divini Numinis imploratione legebantur quidam articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cœtu, quorum articulorum tenor talis est.

1. *That all the Sundays of the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holy-days, and other holy-days to be abrogated.*

2. *That in all parish churches, the minister in common-prayer turn his face towards the people, and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.*

3. *That in ministering the sacrament of baptism, the ceremony of making of the cross in the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.*

4. *That for as much as divers communicants are not hable to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sickness, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel and knock, that the order of kneeling may be left* 319 *to the discretion of the ordinary, within his jurisdiction.*

5. *That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying of divine service, and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice: and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.*

6. *That the use of organs be removed.*

Unde orta fuit super eorum probacione vel reprobacione disceptacio, multis affirmantibus eosdem a se probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos a se non probari; multisque aliis volentibus,

ut eorum probacio, vel reprobacio, referatur ad reverendissimum dominum, archiepiscopum et prælatos, plurimis item protestantibus, se nolle ullo modo consentire, ut aliqua contenta in ipsis articulis approbentur; quatenus ullâ ex parte dissentiant libro divini et communis servicii, jam auctoritate senatusconsulti publice in hoc regno suscepto; neque velle, ut aliqua immutacio fiat contra ordines, regulas, ritus, ac cæteras disposiciones in eo libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ disputaciones fieri a nonnullis doctis viris ejusdem domûs, super approbacione, vel reprobacione, dicti quarti articuli. Ac tandem placuit dissessionem, sive divisionem fieri votorum, sive suffragiorum singulorum; quæ mox subsecuta fuit: atque numeratis personis pro parte articulos approbante, fuerunt personæ 43; pro parte vero illos non approbante, neque aliquam immutacionem contra dictum librum publici servicii jam susceptum, fieri petente, fuerunt personæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis singulorum votis, sive suffragiis, comperta sunt quemadmodum in sequenti folio liquet et apparet.

## DISPUTATORES.

Decanus Wigorn'.
Mr. Byckley.
Archis Coven'.
Mr. Nevynson.
Mr. Pullan.
Mr. Cottrell.
Mr. Johes Walker.
Mr. Laur. Nowell.
Mr. Calphill.
Mr. Crowley.
Mr. Tremayn.
Mr. Hewett.
Decanus Eliensis.

*Pro parte articulos prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes subscripti;* viz.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| D. Proloquutor, decanus S. Pauli. | | | 1 | Mr. Bowre | 1 |
| Mr. Leaver | | | 1 | Mr. Ebden | 1 |
| 320 Mr. Peder | | | 1 | Mr. Longlonde | 1 |
| Mr. Watts | | | 3 | Mr. Tho. Lancaster | 1 |
| Decan' Lychef. | | | 1 | Mr. Ed. Weston | 2 |
| Mr. Spenser | | | 1 | Mr. Wysdom | 1 |
| Mr. Biesley | | | 1 | Mr. Sall | 2 |
| Mr. Nevynson | | | 1 | Mr. Johes Walker | 2 |
| | | | | Mr. Becon | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Proctor | 2 | Mr. Beamond | 1 |
| Mr. Cockerell | 1 | Mr. Wyborn | 1 |
| Mr. Todd, arch' Bed. | 2 | Mr. Day | 1 |
| Mr. Crowley | 1 | Mr. Reve | 1 |
| Deca' Heref. | 1 | Mr. Roberts | 5 |
| Mr. Soreby | 1 | Mr. Calphill | 3 |
| Mr. Bradbrige | 1 | Mr. Godwyn | 2 |
| Mr. Hyll | 1 | Mr. Pratt | 1 |
| Deca' Oxon. | 1 | Mr. Tremayn | 2 |
| Mr. Savage | 1 | Mr. Heaton | 1 |
| Mr. Pullan | 1 | Mr. Kempe | 1 |
| Mr. Wylson | 1 | Mr. Avys | 1 |
| Mr. Burton | 2 | Mr. Renager | 1 |

Personæ 43. Voces 58.

*Pro parte articulos non approbante, ac protestante ut supra, sunt subscripti;* viz.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Deca' Westmoñ | 2 | Mr. Cheston | - |
| Mr. Cottrell | 4 | Mr. Chaundelor | - |
| Mr. Latymer | 3 | Mr. Bonde | - |
| Deca' Elieñ. | - | Mr. Just. Lancaster | - |
| Mr. Hewett | 3 | Mr. Pounde | - |
| Mr. Ric. Walker | 2 | Mr. Constantyne | - |
| Mr. Warner | - | Mr. Calverley | - |
| Mr. Tho. Whyte | - | Mr. Nich. Smyth | - |
| Mr. Kenall | 2 | Mr. Watson | - |
| Mr. Jo. Prise | - | Mr. Walt. Jones | 3 |
| Mr. Bolte | 2 | Mr. Garth | 3 |
| Mr. Hughes | 3 | Mr. Turnebull | - |
| Mr. Brigewater | 2 | Mr. Robynson | - |
| Mr. Lowgher | 3 | Mr. Bell | - |
| Mr. Pierson | - | Mr. Ithel | - |
| Mr. Meryck | - | Mr. Byckley | - |
| Mr. Luson | - | Mr. Hugo Morgan | 3 |
| Mr. Grenesell | 3 | | |

Personæ 35. Voces 59.

321 Number LXXV[72]. [p. 307.]

*Bishop Horne's letter to Gualter, concerning the controversy about the habits of the clergy.*

*Robertus Hornus Gualtero.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. IV. p. 84.]

Literas tuas, mi Gualtere primas, quam amanter et jucunde acceperim, vel hinc existimare debes, quod de Tigurinæ reipublicæ statu in cujus fide ac liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amicissimorum, et de me optime meritorum valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis evangelium lucubratio; scribendi, ut tu ais, occasio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram scripturarum scientiam et pietatem conferre multum judicem, et non solum a tironibus, quibus tu potissimum studes, sed ab ipsis professoribus legendam existimem.

In fœdere Gallico et Helvetico, perspicaciam Tigurinam probo, quæ astutias Gallicas, religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit et patefecit. Bernenses etiam vicinos vestros spero, suasu vestro ab inhonesto fœdere assensum cohibituros. De peste, quæ regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causâ etiam ipsi pii affliguntur. Quâ perculsus pater Bullingerus, quod periculum evasit, debemus putare eum qui duriora tempora sustulit, felicioribus esse a Domino reservatum. Tuam domum ab eâ contagione tutam, divinæ clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis noluit otium, ascribo.

Res nostræ ita se habent, quod ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas papisticas timemus insidias. Primates papistici in publicis custodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Ansam minutam sane et ejusmodi nacti. Controversiâ nuper de quadratis pileis et superpelliciis, inter nos ortâ, exclamârunt papistæ, non esse quam profitemur, unanimem in religione fidem; sed variis nos opinionibus duci, nec in unâ sententiâ stare posse. Auxit hanc calumniam publicum senatûs nostri decretum, de

[72] [This letter is also printed by Strype in his Annals, vol. i. Appendix, Number xxiv. p. 66, with tolerable correctness.]

profligandâ papisticâ impietate, ante nostram restitutionem sancitum; quo sublatâ reliquâ fæce, usus pileorum quadratorum et superpelliciorum ministris remanebat. Ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli hoc decretum non potest; nisi omnium regni ordinum, quorum constitutum fuit conspiratione atque consensu. Nobis penes quos tunc non fuit sanciendi vel abrogandi auctoritas, pileis et superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne munera Christiana, per nos deserta, occuparent adversarii. Sed cum jam hæc res in magnam contentionem inter nostros devenerit, noster grex pusillus etiam in duas abierit partes quarum altera, ob illud decretum deserendum ministerium, altera non deserendum putet; peto abs te, mi Gualtere, quod de hâc controversiâ, quæ nos una vexat, senseris, ut quam primo tempore scribas. Speramus certe proximis comitiis, illam decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed 322
si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magnâ ope clam nituntur papistæ, ministerio nihilominus divino adhærendum esse judico; ne deserto eo, ac a nobis eâ conditione repudiato, papistæ sese insinuarent. Quâ de re, sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; an hæc, quæ sic facimus, salvâ conscientiâ facere possumus. De vestrâ etiam ecclesiâ ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles ministros ex peste interiisse suspicer, per tuas literas scire vellem eorum nomina qui jam supersint. Dominus Iesus, magnus gregis sui custos, vos, et universam suam ecclesiam custodiat. In eodem vale.

Datum e Fernamiæ Castro, 16 cal. Augusti 1565.

Tuus in Christo,
Rob. Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo theologo, domino Gualtero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro dignissimo.*

## Number LXXVI. [p. 308.]

*Bullinger's letter to bishop Horne, concerning that question.*

*Bullingerus*[73] *Horno, de re vestiariâ.*

(Eadem iterum recurrit, aliâ manu.)

*Reverendo patri in Christo, domino Roberto Horno, episcopo Wintoniensi (in Angliâ) vigilantissimo, domino suo plurimum observando, salutem.*

Quæ de controversiâ de vestitu ministrorum, inter vos exortâ, scribis, reverende in Christo pater, prius etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis nostri amici, literis intellexeram, quibus nuper respondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, et adhuc dolet, hanc occasionem adversariis datam esse, quâ inter se committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem veritatis doctrinam prædicant. De causâ vero non libenter pronuntio, cum illius circumstantias omnes
323 fortassis non nôrim. Ne tamen abs te, et aliis amicis requisitus, officio deesse videar; hic repetere volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abelum datis comprehendi. Probo zelum eorum, qui religionem ab omnibus sordibus papisticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud prophetæ, quo Deus monet, ut scortationes a facie

Ex. MSS. Tigur. [Litt. Angl. VI. 164.]

[73] [This letter was not written by Bullinger, but by Gualter, and is a reply to bishop Horne's letter to Gualter, printed in the preceding Record. This is sufficiently apparent from internal evidence, but the author was deceived by the mistake made by the transcriber who attributed it to Bullinger. The letter was printed in English in the first volume of the Zurich Letters, 1558–1579, as the second letter in the Appendix, p. 341, the translator having taken it from Burnet's copy, and having fallen into Burnet's mistake as to its authorship. There is therefore no occasion to suppose another letter of Horne's to Bullinger on the same subject. Of this letter there are two copies in the same volume of the Zurich Archives, numbered VI, 164. one at page 59, the other at page 135. The address of both copies at the top of the page is undoubtedly written by Gualter himself, but the letter is in a different hand. That at page 59 was possibly written by Stumpf. The copy at page 135, is the better in all respects, but both have been collated for this edition. Burnet's transcript appears to have been made from the inferior copy.]

simul et uberibus removeamus. Interim vestram quoque probo prudentiam, qui, ob vestitum, ecclesias non putatis deserendas. Etenim cum finis ministerii sit ædificatio et conservatio ecclesiæ, magnâ circumspectione nobis opus est, ne ab hoc declinemus, dum causam per se bonam et sanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum est qualis jam sit ecclesiæ conditio, quam deserere statuimus, sed quæ futura sit nobis ab illâ digressis. Si meliorem fore certum est, abire licet. Sin vero deteriorem fore, non ignoramus, aliquid præter animi voluntatem ferendum, ne ecclesiarum dissipationi aut malis atque infidis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere possum, hoc unum quærunt adversarii vestri communes, ut vobis ejectis, vel papistas vel ab his non multum diversos Lutheranos doctores et antistites surrogent. Quod si fiat, non modo ecclesiasticus ordo omnis turbabitur et crescet cæremoniarum ineptissimarum numerus, verum etiam idola reducentur (quæ a Lutheranis defendi scimus) ἀρτολατρεία circa sacram Domini cœnam instaurabitur, privata absolutio et sub hâc confessio auricularis paulatim subrepet, et infinita alia fient, quæ et publice turbas dabunt, et privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vos in vestro ministerio eo usque profecisse, ut plurimos habeatis in toto regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis et loci homines, qui de religione optime sentiunt, et doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ superstitionibus et idololatriæ fenestras aperit, et quibus intolerabile erit tyrannidem in ecclesiâ denuo stabiliri, quæ populi infœlicis conscientias gravet. Hi certe, si vos ab ecclesiæ gubernaculis discedatis, adversariorum libidini subjicientur, qui examina et inquisitiones cum publicas tum privatas adversus eos instituent, hæreseos et seditionis accusabunt, et per hos totam causam religionis, reginæ serenissimæ et totius regni proceribus suspectam atque invisam reddent. Horum ergo artibus et improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis sponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno studio et labore quæsiverunt.

Quod si quis me roget, an ergo eos probem, qui decreta ejusmodi vel primi fecerunt, vel nunc observata volunt, quibus sordes papisticæ faventur? Ingenue et libere respondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, si ex nostrorum numero sunt: aut malo dolo ecclesiarum libertati insidias struunt. Et si fæces istas tanquam ad Dei cultum et conscienti-

arum animæque salutem necessarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum esse judicarem, quam ut ecclesias et pium populum ab ingenuâ fidei professione abstrahi per illos pateremini. Sed cum in decreto illo disertis verbis (ut tu scribis) cautum sit, quadratos pileos cum superpelliceis absque omni superstitionis opinione debere retineri, simul vestris quoque conscientiis cautum esse puto. Licebit enim vobis, ni fallor, populo facti vestri rationem reddere, superstitionis opinionem ex omnium animis removere, et protestatione uti, quæ scandalum omne e medio auferat. Interea serenissima regina et illustrissimi proceres regni edoceantur, moneantur et excitentur, ne reformationem tantâ cum laude et magnâ cum totius orbis admiratione institutam, fæcibus
324 et sordibus ejusmodi inficiant atque polluant, neve vicinis ecclesiis Scoticis et Gallicis aliquam præbeant dissensionis suspicionem. Scio a quibusdam quæstiones moveri multas de regum et magistratûs authoritate, an quid hujus illi in ecclesiâ statuere, et an horum decretis ministri obedire debeant? At ego disputationes illas in hâc causâ non ita necessarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) superstitionis opinio per ipsius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum est, ne coram populo de magistratûs authoritate disputando, alicujus turbæ authores simus. In comitiis vero regni publicis, ista tractari debent legitime, et qui per occasionem privatim reginam et principes officii admonere possunt, ii suis partibus minime deesse debent. Hæc reverende in Christo pater, habui quæ nunc scriberem, quia meam in hâc causâ sententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus conscientiam gravare, sed cavendum puto ne dum nobis aut existimationi nostræ privatim consulimus, ecclesias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc sententiam a Pauli mente non dissentire puto, qui omnia omnibus fieri solitus fuit, ut quam plurimos lucrifaceret: et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci a religione Christianâ alienaret, et illius ministerio commodius uti posset: qui tamen alibi nihil prorsus dandum esse putavit iis, qui in circumcisione salutis meritum collocabant. Sed non errabunt in ejusmodi controversiis, quotquot ædificationem ecclesiæ suorum consiliorum atque actionum scopum atque finem sibi constituerint. De rebus nostris non est quod scribam. In anni superioris luc ita nobis prospexit Dominus, ut neminem ex ministrorum numero amiserimus. In agro unus et alter obiit. Velitatur nunc et

nonnihil pestis in urbe nostrâ, sed non sævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigesimum Novembris electorum principum conventus erit Vuormatiæ, in quo de pace per Germaniam constituendâ deliberabitur et quædam de episcopis et horum reformatione tractabuntur, quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus suo Spiritu omnium mentes et consilia regat ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honestissimam matronam, mea plurimum salvere jubet. Vale in Christo reverende pater. Tiguri 3 Novembris, anno 1565.

Quæ Stamphii manu hoc loco scripta, p. 135[74].

[74] [The meaning of this probably is, that the person who transcribed the letter, thought the other copy at p. 135 was made by Stumpf. See the preceding note.]

325 ## Number LXXVII[75]. [p. 309.]

*Bullinger's answer to Humphreys and Sampson on the same subject.*

*Ornatissimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, et Thomæ Sampsoni Anglis, Dominis meis et Fratribus in Christo.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur. VI. 164.]

Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, Viri ornatissimi et Fratres charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi, te Laurenti, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quæstionem, nimis videatur accisa. Ego vero, mi frater, tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere literas. Nam rogabas tu duntaxat, quæ esset mea de re vestiariâ, de quâ contendatur in Angliâ, sententia? Ad hanc quæstionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi. Nam brevibus meam sententiam dicere potui. Deinde sciebam beatæ memoriæ D. Petrum Martyrem et Oxoniæ et hic eandem quæstionem tractavisse sæpius et fusius. Quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini vero in literis ad te Sampsonem fratrem datis, meæ quoque sententiæ factam tamen quoque fuisse mentionem. Et ut iterum uno et altero verbo quod sentio dicam, Nunquam probaverim, si jubeamini vestrum exequi ministerium, ad aram crucifixi imagine oneratam magis quam ornatam, et in veste Missaticâ hoc est in albâ et in casulâ quæ a tergo quoque ostentet crucifixi imaginem. At quantum ex literis allatis ex Angliâ intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi vestitu contentio, sed quæstio est, *An liceat ministris evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum et vestem albam, quam nuncupant superpellicium, quâ minister ornatus, a vulgo discernatur?* Et *An oporteat ministerium vel stationem sacram citius relinquere, quam hujusmodi uti vestibus?* Respondi ad

[75] [This letter has been printed by Strype in the Appendix to the first volume of his Annals, Number XXIV. App. p. 62. The two copies as printed by Burnet and Strype differ in about a hundred and fifty places. It was also printed, as the author in the text intimates, by Seres, 8vo. 1566, both in Latin and English. The copy at Zurich, which has been collated, and which in almost every case confirms Strype's readings, was made by Bullinger himself. The copy from which Strype printed is in the Lansdowne collection, IX. 44.]

hanc quæstionem præteritis nundinis reverendo viro D. Roberto Horne Vuintoniensi episcopo et quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulo ante Symmysta et affinis meus charissimus D. Rodolphus Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos et ad alios fratres nostros mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrûmque judicium de re vestiariâ expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me literis significabatis, en habetis in illâ epistolâ nostrum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sane quam vehementissime, et cum nullum aliud nobis supersit amplius consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse suâ gratiâ atque potentiâ rebus consulat afflictis.

Quæstiones aliquot, tu Laurenti frater, proposuisti, plures vero ejusdem argumenti Sampsonus contexuit. Licet vero pro meâ simplici ruditate, nunquam probaverim vel in tot distrahi quæstiones et nodis innecti implicatioribus, quæ alioqui simpliciores per se, brevibus et satis perspicue expediri potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas, ut hâc quoque in re, vobis dominis 326
meis observandis et fratribus charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam acumenque retusum magis quam acutum inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benigne hæc a me vestro vestrique amantissimo accipiatis, et de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, et nihil magis supplex peto a Domino, quam ut ab ecclesiâ longe removeat contentiones, quæ ab initio et semper plurimum nocuere veræ pietati et ecclesiam uteunque pacatam et florentem lacerârunt.

Cum quæritur, *An debeant Ecclesiasticis leges præscribi vestiariæ, ut iis distinguantur a Laicis?* Respondeo ambiguitatem esse in verbo *Debere*. Si enim accipiatur pro necessario et quod ad salutem pertineat consequendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos legum authores. Si vero dicatur posse hoc fieri decori, ornatûsque vel dignitatis et ordinis gratiâ, ut sit civilis quædam observatio, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod apostolus vult, episcopum vel ministrum ecclesiæ Κόσμιον, compositum inquam vel ornatum esse, non video quid peccet qui veste hujusmodi induitur, aut qui ejusmodi veste uti jubet.

2. *An ceremonialis cultus Levitici sacerdotii sit revocandus in ecclesiam?* Respondeo, si pileus et vestis non indecora ministro et quæ superstitione carent jubeantur usurpari a mi-

nistris, nemo sane dixerit vere, Judaismum revocari. Præterea repeto hic quod ad hanc quæstionem video respondisse D. Martyrem, qui ubi ostendisset sacramenta veteris legis esse abolita, quæ non oporteat reducere in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ habeat Baptisma et Cœnam sacram, subjecit. *Fuerunt nihilominus in Lege Leviticâ actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut proprie sacramenta dici non possent. Faciebant enim ad decorem et ordinem, et aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua, et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia, ego et revocari, et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt Apostolos pro pace et convictu credentium faciliori mandâsse gentibus, ut a sanguine et prefocato abstinerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam Legalia et Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis institutas esse ad alendos ministros, nemo nostrûm ignorat. Psalmos et hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus manifestum est, quod tamen Levitæ quoque usurpârunt. Utque hoc non omittam, dies habemus festos in memoriam Dominicæ resurrectionis et alia. An vero illa omnia erunt abolenda, quia sunt vestigia Legis antiquæ? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quædam ex iis usurpari non possint. Hæc ille.*

3. *An vestitum cum Papistis communicare liceat?* Respondeo, Nondum constat Papam discrimen vestium induxisse in ecclesiam. Imo discrimen vestium constat Papâ esse longe vetustius. Nec video, cur non liceat vestitu non superstitioso, sed politico et composito, communicare cum Papistis. Si nullâ re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret et templa omnia deserere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti baptismo, non recitare Symbolum Apost. et Nicenum, adeoque abjicere orationem dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab eis ullas ceremonias. Res vestiaria ab initio reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, et retinetur adhuc non lege Papisticâ sed vi edicti regii, ut res media et politica.

327 4. Ita sane, si ut re civili utamini pileo aut veste peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaismum, neque Monachismum. Nam hi volunt videri a civili vitâ separati, et constituunt meritum in peculiari suâ veste. Sic Eustathius, Sebastiæ episcopus, damnatus est, non simpliciter propter peculiarem vestem, sed quod in veste religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangrensis concilii canones, Laodiceni, et sexti Synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli

sunt persuasi, redolere hoc Papismum, Judaismum et Monachismum, admoneantur, et recte de tuis instituantur. Quod si importunis quorundam clamoribus, hâc de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora sibi onera imponant, regiamque majestatem irritent, denique multos fideles ministros in discrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.

5. *An qui libertate suâ hactenus acquieverunt, vi regii edicti, hâc servitute implicare et se et ecclesiam salvâ conscientiâ possint?* Respondeo, Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur, clametur et contendatur de re vestiariâ, atque importunitate hâc detur occasio regiæ majestati, ut liberum amplius illis non relinquat, qui libertate hactenus usi sunt, sed clamoribus non necessariis irritata, mandet adsumere vestes illas ecclesiasticas, vel cedere statione suâ. Mirum sane mihi videtur (vestrâ pace, viri ornatissimi, et fratres charissimi, dixerim) quod vobis persuadetis, salvâ conscientiâ vos et ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subjicere non posse, et non potius expenditis, si re politicâ et indifferenti uti nolitis et perpetuo contendatis odiosius cujusmodi servituti et vos et ecclesias subjiciatis, qui statione vestrâ cedentes, lupis exponitis ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æque, ut vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An vero ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, quando occasionem suppeditatis, ecclesiam pluribus etiam gravioribusque oneribus opprimendi? Num ignoratis, quid multi quærant, quomodo erga evangelii prædicationem sint affecti et quales vobis successuri sint, et quid de illis sperandum sit?

6. *An vestitus clericalis sit res indifferens?* Videtur sane res indifferens, cum sit civilis, decori, ornatûs, ordinisque habeat rationem, in quo cultus non constituitur.

Hæc brevibus, ad tuas volui respondere, doctissime et dilectissime mi frater Laurenti.

Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampsonis nostri quæstiones; in quibus exponendis forte ero brevior.

1. *An vestitus peculiaris, a Laicis distinctus, ministris ecclesiæ unquam fuerit constitutus; et an hodie, in reformatâ ecclesiâ, debeat constitui?* Respondeo, In veteri ecclesiâ fuisse peculiarem presbyterorum vestitum, apparet ex historiâ ecclesiasticâ Theodoreti, lib. II. c. 27. et Socratis, lib. VI. c. 22.

Pallio in sacris usos esse ministros nemo ignorat, qui veterum monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideo antea submonui, diversitatem indumentorum non habere suam originem a Papâ. Eusebius certe testatur, ex vetustissimis scriptoribus, Joannem Apostolum Ephesi petalum, seu laminam gestâsse pontificalem in ca-
328 pite. Et de Cypriano Martyre testatur Pontius Diaconus, quod cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, ei prius birrum dedisse, diacono vero dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse indutum. Præterea, vestis candidæ ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus. Ac certum est Christianos, cum a gentilismo ad ecclesiam converterentur, pro togâ induisse pallium. Ob quam rem cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus librum de Pallio conscripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujus generis plura proferre possem, nisi hæc sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici ministris, et eos eâ uti posse consuetudine quâ Apostoli. Sed cum Regia majestas pileum tantummodo et candidam injicit vestem in quâ cultum (quod sæpe jam repetitum est) non constituit; cædemque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc essent res ecclesiæ, usurpatæ sint absque superstitione et culpâ, optarem, bonos ministros, in his, non ut in prorâ et puppi, quod dicunt totum constituere religionis profectum, sed dare aliquid tempori, et de re indifferenti non odiosius altercari, sed modeste judicare hæc quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim esse apostolicæ simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen a disciplinâ in amictu non sunt alieni.

2, 3. *An vestium præscriptio congruat cum Christianâ libertate?* Respondeo res indifferentes admittere aliquam præscriptionem, adeoque coactionem, ut sic dicam, quoad usum et non quoad necessitatem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod naturâ sit indifferens, ut necessarium conscientiæ obtrudatur, et ita animis injiciatur religio. Tempora certe et loca sacrorum cœtuum recte habentur inter indifferentia, et tamen si hic nulla sit præscriptio, quanta obsecro confusio conturbatioque orietur?

4. *An ullæ cæremoniæ novæ, præter expressum præscriptum verbi Dei, cumulari possint?* Respondeo me non probare si novæ cumulentur cæremoniæ: sed tamen aliquas institui posse non negârim, modo in eis non statuatur Dei cultus, sed instituantur propter ordinem et disciplinam. Christus ipse encæniorum festum vel cæremoniam servavit, nec tamen lege

præceptum legimus hoc festum. In summâ, Propositionum, vel quæstionum de re vestiariâ, potior pars de eo disputat, an de vestibus leges in ecclesiâ condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac quæstionem revocat ad genus, quidnam videlicet de cæremoniis statuere liceat? Ad has propositiones paucis respondeo, Me quidem malle nullas cæremonias, nisi necessarias, obtrudi ecclesiæ. Interim tamen fateor non posse statim leges de his, forte non adeo necessarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque et schisma excitare in ecclesiâ, quando (videlicet) superstitione carent, et res sunt suâ naturâ indifferentes.

5, 6. *An ritus Judæorum antiquatos revocare, religionique idololatrarum proprie dicatos, in usus reformatarum ecclesiarum liceat transferre?* De hâc quæstione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis ritibus. Nolim vero ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab erroribus, transferri in ecclesias reformatas. Rursus vero et ex adverso quæri poterat, An recepti ritus, 329
remotâ superstitione, propter disciplinam et ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

7. *An conformatio in cæremoniis necessario sit exigenda?* Respondeo, conformationem in cæremoniis, in omnibus ecclesiis, forte non esse necessariam. Interim, si præcipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non impia, ob eam ecclesia non videtur deserenda. Non fuit in ritibus conformitas in omnibus ecclesiis vetustioribus. Quæ tamen conformibus utebantur ritibus, eas non vituperabant conformitate carentes. Facile autem credo, viros prudentes atque politicos, conformationem rituum urgere, quod existiment hanc facere ad concordiam, et quod una sit ecclesia totius Angliæ. In quâ re si nihil impii misceatur, non video, quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis, vos hostiliter objiciatis?

8. *An cæremoniæ, cum aperto scandalo conjunctæ, retineri possint?* Respondeo scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus. Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud vero acceptum et ultro accersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc an vos sine grandi scandalo dato deserere possitis ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rem indifferentem.

9. *An ullæ constitutiones ferendæ in ecclesiâ, quæ naturâ suâ impiæ quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad ædificationem nihil*

*faciunt?* Respondeo, Si constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult Regia Majestas, ferendæ sunt potius, quam deserendæ ecclesiæ. Si enim ædificatio ecclesiæ hâc in re potissimum est spectanda, deserendo certe ecclesiam, plus destruxerimus ecclesiam, quam vestes induendo. Et ubi abest impietas, nec læditur conscientia, ibi cedendum non est, licet aliqua imponatur servitus. Interim vero quæri rursus poterat, An sub servitutem juste referamus rem vestiariam, quatenus facit ad decorem et ordinem?

10. *An quicquam ecclesiis a principe præscribendum in cæremoniis, sine voluntate et libero consensu ecclesiasticorum?* Respondeo, Si voluntas ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam forte sapientissimi et piissimi reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat, Ezechias et Josias, aliique principes boni Levitas et ministros ecclesiarum redegissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi episcopos a consultationibus ecclesiasticis. Nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vendicare, quam sibi usurpârunt contra Principes et magistratus in Papatu. Nolim item tacere episcopos et consentire ad iniqua Principum instituta.

11, 12. Postremæ quæstiones duæ propius ad rem ipsam accedunt, *An consultius ecclesiæ sic inservire, an propterea Ecclesiastico munere ejici?* Et, *An boni pastores, jure ob hujusmodi cæremonias neglectas a ministerio avocari possint?* Respondeo, Si in ritibus nulla est superstitio, nulla impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis pastoribus, qui mallent illos
330 sibi non imponi; dabo sane, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitutem ipsis imponi, sed non dabo idque justissimis ex causis, stationem vel ministerium propterea esse deserendum et locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est, vel ineptioribus ministris. Præsertim, cum maneat libera prædicatio, caverique possit ne obtrudatur servitus, et multa hujusmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ mihi videbantur dicenda de propositis quæstionibus, non nescius alios pro suâ eruditione longe elegantius meliusque potuisse excusisse; sed quia ita voluistis, ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his et calamum et judicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his conscientiam urgere et irretire volo; examinanda propono, moneoque, ne quis in hâc controversiâ, ex Φιλονεικία, sibi faciat conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes per Jesum Christum, Dominum meum,

ecclesiæ suæ servatorem, caput et regem, ut probe quisque apud se expendat, utrânam re plus ædificârit ecclesiam Christi, si propter ordinem et decorem vestibus utatur ut re indifferenti, et hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque ecclesiæ nonnihil facienti, an vero propter rem vestiariam deserere ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non a lupis manifestis, saltem a ministris minime idoneis et bonis. Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere, et sequi, quod facit ad gloriam ejus et ecclesiæ pacem et salutem.

Valete in Domino, una cum omnibus fidelibus ministris. Orabimus sedulo pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiatis et faciatis, quæ sancta sunt et salutaria. D. Gualtherus amicissime vos salutat, et omnia felicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipsum reliqui etiam ministri.

Tiguri, calendis Maii, anno Domini MDLXVI.

Vester ex animo totus,
Heinrychus Bullingerus, Sen.
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ minister.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampson, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas. Nam quæ habetis excepta sunt ab auditoribus ejus, et non sunt scripta a D. Bibliandro. Habent autem hæredes ejus commentaria ejus manu scripta in Biblia vel in vetus Testamentum. Indignissime ergo ferrent, si quid sub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipsus non scripsisset. Interim gratias ego humanitati tuæ quod de his nos fecisti certiores. Et literæ tuæ 16 Februarii scriptæ, demum mihi traditæ sunt 26 Aprilis.

331 ## Number LXXVIII. [p. 310.]

*Humphrey's and Sampson's letter to Bullinger, insisting on the question.*

*Laurentius Humfredus, et Thomas Sampson, Bullingero.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXI. p. 93.]

Cum diligentia tua, clarissime vir, in scribendo nobis probatur: tum vero ex literis illis quidem humanissimis incredibilis tuus erga nos amor et ecclesiæ nostræ singularis cura, et concordiæ ardentissimum studium apparent. Quæstiones aliquot misimus pietati tuæ in quibus vis et quasi cardo totius controversiæ sita esse videbatur. Quibus est a pietate tuâ accurate responsum, nobis tamen, quod bonâ cum veniâ tuâ dicimus, non est plene satisfactum.

Primo respondet pietas tua ministris præscribi posse leges vestiarias ut iis colore et formâ a laicis distinguantur: esse enim civilem observationem et apostolum velle episcopum esse κόσμιον. Cum hæc quæstio de ecclesiasticis hominibus proposita sit, et ad ecclesiasticam politiam spectet: quomodo habitus ministrorum singularis et clericalis civilem rationem habere possit, non videmus. Ut episcopum κόσμιον esse debere fatemur; sic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambrosio referimus. Et ut in vestitu honestatem, dignitatem, gravitatem requirimus: sic decorum ab hostibus religionis nostræ peti negamus.

Secundo respondes hypothetice; si pileus et vestis non indecora ministro, et quæ superstitione carent, jubeantur usurpari a ministris, Judaismum propterea vere non revocari. At qui esse potest vestis simplici ministerio Christi conveniens, quæ theatro et pompæ sacerdotii papistici serviebat? Neque enim (quo modo nostri pietati tuæ persuadent) pileus quadrus et externus vestitus solummodo exiguntur, sed etiam sacræ vestes in templo adhibentur, superpellicium, seu alba chori vestis, et capa revocantur. Quæ Judaismi μιμήματα quædam esse et simulacra non modo papistæ ipsi in suis libris clamitant, sed pietas tua non semel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris nostri colendissimi testimonio libenter subscribimus. Sed quæ

ille affert exempla ad decorum et ordinem pertinent; hæc ecclesiam deformant, εὐταξίαν perturbant, condecentiam omnem evertunt. Illà lumini naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigiosa et monstrosa sunt. Illa juxta Tertulliani regulam meras necessitates et utilitates habebant: hæc inepta prorsus et supervacanea et inutilia sunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono usui conducentia, sed verius ut ejusdem Martyris nostri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii sunt execrantur, splendide inservierunt. Vestium ecclesiasticarum discrimen hodie receptum papisticum esse inventum ipsi papicolæ gloriantur, Othonis Constitutiones loquuntur, liber pontificalis ostendit, oculi et ora omnium comprobant. Usus et templorum, stipendii, baptismi, symboli, etc. ante papam natum divino instituto inolevit. Et cum Augustino quicquid in aliquâ hæresi divinum ac legitimum 332
reperimus, id approbamus, retinemus, non inficiamur. Hoc autem quia erroris illius ac dissensionis proprium est, veraciter cum eodem arguimus et certamus.

Quod addis, rem vestiariam ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, in eâ rursus nostri minime vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis serenissimi regis Edvardi VI. temporibus absque superpellicio cœna Domini pure celebrabatur: et capa quæ tum lege abrogata est nunc publico decreto restituta est. Hoc non est papismum extirpare, sed denuo plantare; non in pietate proficere sed deficere. Vestitum sacerdotalem civilem esse ais: monachismum, papismum, Judaismum redolere negas. De superpellicio quid blaterent papistæ, habitus clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, et quomodo religioni dicatus sit, prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde monachatum ac papismum sapit illa ambitiosa et pharisaica peculiaris vestitûs præscriptio; cui illi hodie non minus quam olim suæ cucullæ monachi tribuunt. Neque vero simul ac semel irrupit sanctitatis et meriti opinio, sed paulatim et sensim irrepsit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quia veremur, idcirco non abs re cunctamur, et principiis obstare conamur. Cum Eustathio non facimus, qui in veste religionem collocabat, imo his, qui religiosas et singulares vestes sui sacerdotii indices superstitiose requirunt, adversamur. Idem etiam de canone concilii Gangrensis et Laodicei et synodi sexti dicendum. A libertate in quâ hactenus stetimus, discedere servitutis auctoramentum quoddam esse judicamus. Neque hic nos rixati sumus, non

odiose contendimus, acerbas contentiones semper fugimus, amicas consultationes quærimus; lupis non cedimus, sed coacti et pulsi loco inviti et gementes discedimus. Fratres et episcopos Domino suo stare et cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem submisissime at frustra petimus. In ritibus nihil est liberum; nec ad hoc a nobis regia majestas irritata est: sed aliorum suasu inducta est: ut nunc demum non quod ecclesiæ expedit, sed quod aliquo modo licet, constituatur: et quod omnino impium non est, id sanum et salubre, id sacrosanctum, id ratum habeatur.

Ceremonias et vestes sacerdotum, cum religionis testes, et professionis notæ sunt, non civiles esse: et ab hostibus omnium consensu mutuo corrogatæ, non decoræ haberi: et anathemate divino notatæ et piis omnibus invisæ et malis ac infirmis admirabiles, sine quibus nec nos ministros esse, nec sacramenta rite administrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec possunt nec debent. Habebant patres antiqui suas vestes, sed nec episcoporum omnium proprias, nec a laicis distinctas. Exempla D. Joannis et Cypriani singularia sunt. Sisinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium erat omnium Christianorum commune, ut Tertullianus in illo libro refert, et paternitas tua alibi notavit. Chrysostomus candidæ vestis meminit, sed obiter: nec commendat nec reprehendit: et fueritne sacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea, alba an munda, nondum constat. Certe ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, et ab Hieronymo opponitur sordidæ et apud Blondum de pallio laneo fit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi potest.

Vestium præscriptionem non congruere cum Christianâ libertate Bucerus est testis, qui discrimina vestium propter præsentem abusum in ecclesiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorem
333 declarationem detestationis Antichristi, propter pleniorem professionem libertatis Christianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones omnino tollenda esse censuit. His enim verbis ille usus est in epistolâ ad D. a Lasco, qui totus noster fuit. Itaque hinc grave scandalum oriri, et ædificationem impediri manifestum est. Cedendum quidem est tempori sed ad tempus: sic ut progrediamur semper, regrediamur nunquam. Absit ut nos vel schismata in ecclesiâ altercando odiosius seramus vel fratribus nos hostiliter opponendo Camerinam moveamus: absit

(optime Bullingere) ut res naturâ indifferentes impietatis damnemus: absit ut sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus, vel ex φιλονεικίᾳ conscientiam faciamus. Hæc fæx et fermentum papisticum (nobis crede) omnis dissensionis est seminarium: illud tolli et sempiternâ oblivione obrui ac sepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extent antichristianæ superstitionis vestigia. In papatu primatus et supercilium semper nobis displicuerunt: et tyrannis in ecclesiâ liberâ placebit? Libera synodus apud Christianos controversiarum nodos hactenus solvit: cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referrentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum et vocum regnat libertas, ibi valet et viget veritas.

Breviter sic habeto, reverende pater, hæc nobis potissimum fidem facere, auctoritatem scripturarum, simplicitatem ministerii Christi, puritatem ecclesiarum primarum et optimarum quæ brevitatis studio commemorare supersedemus. Ex alterâ vero parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus ecclesiæ, vel universalis consilii (quæ Augustini regula est) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta sunt hactenus, exempla particularia esse, et universalia non confirmare.

Ad hæc statuimus, non quicquid est licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, sed quod ecclesiam ædificat omni modo esse introducendum; nec quod alicui licet, id statim licere omnibus. Doctrinam castam et incorruptam (Deo sit laus) habemus: in cultu, religionis parte non infimâ cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Christum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recepimus? Cur a papistis hostibus, et non a vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem est nostrarum ecclesiarum confessio: eadem doctrinæ et fidei ratio: cur in ritibus et ceremoniis tanta dissimilitudo? tanta diversitas? Signatum idem: cur signa adeo variant ut dissimilia vestris, similia papisticis existant? Idem dux et imperator Christus: cur in ecclesiis nostris vexilla hostilia eriguntur? quæ si homines Dei, si ullo zelo præditi essemus, jamdudum detestati et demoliti fuissemus. Nos de episcopis semper optime sensimus: illorum fastum candide interpretati sumus: cur nos olim crucem cum ipsis exosculantes et nunc eundem Christum prædicantes, idem jugum suavissimum una ferentes ferre non possunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter vestem persequuntur? cur

victu ac bonis spoliant? cur libris publice traducunt? cur causam malam posteritati edito scripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma nostrum schedulas aliquot D. Buceri, P. Martyris, et nunc tuas privatas ad nos literas nobis invitis et insciis in publicum emiserunt. Unde dum suam causam agunt, suum honorem vindicant, nec ecclesiæ nostræ, nec fratribus suis, nec dignitati tuæ, nec seculo alteri consulunt.

Quo autem paternitas tua intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, sed magni ponderis esse controversiam, nec de pileo solum, aut
334 superpellicio certari, sed de re gravissimâ nos conqueri, stipulas aliquot, et quisquilias papisticæ religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ est tua prudentia, reliqua conjicias: et remedium aliquod, quæ est tua pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut hos tumultus et turbas consopiat, gloriam suam asserat, operarios in vineam extrudat, quo messis læta et uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut consilio paterno, scripto publico, literis privatis agas, satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni viri nondum persuasi tolerentur, ne quos doctrinæ firmissimum vinculum copulavit, ceremonia Romana disjungat.

Salutem dicas Gualtero, Simlero, Lavatero, Wolphio dominis colendis, quibuscum si contuleris, et nobis et ecclesiæ universæ gratissimum feceris. Dominus Jesus suo tugurio, vestro Tiguro, benedicat.

Julii, anno 1566.

Hæc paucis et raptim, et non tam respondendi, quam admonendi causâ: quæ in hanc sententiam dici possent infinita sunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri possit, sed quid fieri debeat, pronuncia.

Tuæ paternitatis studiosissimi,
Laurentius Humfredus.
Tho. Sampson.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Henrico Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ ministro fidelissimo et doctissimo, domino in Christo nobis colendo.*

## Number LXXIX. [p. 312.]

*A paper of other things complained of besides the heads.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXI. p. 97.]

Aliquot maculæ quæ in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ adhuc hærent.

1. In precibus publicis etsi nihil impurum, est tamen species aliqua superstitionis papisticæ. Quod non modo in matutinis et vespertinis, sed in sacrâ etiam cœnâ videre est.

2. Præter musicæ sonos fractos et exquisitissimos, organorum usus in templis invalescit. 335

3. In administratione baptismi, minister infantem alloquitur; ejus nomine sponsores, parente absente, de fide, de mundo, carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent; baptizatus cruce signatur.

4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est.

5. In cœnâ Dominicâ sacræ vestes, nempe copa et superpellicium adhibentur; communicantibus genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula azyma substituitur.

6. Extra templum, et ministris in universum singulis, vestes papisticæ præscribuntur; et episcopi suum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant et utrique pileos quadros, liripippia, togas longas a papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt.

7. De nervo autem religionis, disciplinâ, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgam ecclesia nostra: nulla censura exercetur.

8. Conjugium ministris ecclesiæ, publicis regni legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum liberi, a nonnullis, pro spuriis habentur.

9. Solennis desponsatio fit, more rituque papistico, per annulum.

10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur.

11. In regimine ecclesiastico, multa antichristianæ ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in metropolitani curiâ, eadem fere omnia prostant: pluralitates sacerdotiorum, licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando sacris, pro esu carnium diebus inter-

dictis, et in quadragesimâ, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est.

12. Ministris Christi libera prædicandi potestas adempta est: qui jam concionari volunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.

13. Postremo, articulus de spirituali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat, et tollebat realem præsentiam in eucharistiâ, et manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edvardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud nos evulgatur mutilatus et truncatus.

Laur. Humfredus.

## Number LXXX. [p. 312.] 336

*Bullinger's answer to their letter, declining to enter further into the dispute.*

*Præstantissimis viris. D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, dominis meis colendis, et fratribus charissimis.*

Ex. MSS. Tigur. [Epist. Angl. Arch. Tig. B. XIX. 146.]

Epistolam illam vestram, domini colendi et fratres charissimi, quâ meæ respondetis de re vestiariâ scriptæ, accepimus et legimus. Cujus quidem hæc summa est, Vobis per nostram nondum esse satisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum fratres: ideoque mox ab initio, si bene meministis, in epistolâ meâ hæc præmisimus verba,—*Ergo, si nos audire vultis, nostrumque judicium de re vestiariâ expenditis, sicut ultimis ad me literis vestris significabatis, en habetis in illâ (Gualtheri) epistolâ meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sane quam vehementissime, et cum nullum aliud nobis supersit amplius consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus ut ipse suâ gratiâ atque potentiâ, rebus graviter afflictis, &c.* His jam nihil amplius addere nec possumus, nec volumus. Respondere quidem ad vestra objecta possemus, sed nolumus ullam novis et nunquam terminandis disputationibus, scriptis vel rixis dare occasionem. Toties scripsit Martyr beatæ memoriæ, cum adhuc viveret in Angliâ, sed subinde aliæ atque aliæ suggerebantur, repetebanturque quæstiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis scriptisve satisfieri posse. Rogati a vobis fraterno amore suasimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur ecclesiæ fore fructuosum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti istis vestibus et cum oviculis creditis manere, quam rejectis illis pariter et ecclesias deserere. Ulterius progressi non sumus, neque ullas papisticas sordes aut superstitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis disputationem ne suscepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controverterentur, et de quibus nunc quoque scribitis, de re magni ponderis esse apud vos controversiam, nec de pileo solum aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissimâ vos con-

queri. Licet quidem epistola illa nostra ad vos privatim de re vestiariâ conscripta, insciis nobis a quibusdam sit edita, speramus tamen pios et prudentes viros, nostra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eo detorsuros, quasi videamur ea nunc approbare et restituere velle, quæ pii omnes libris nostris edocti, dudum nos reprobare nôrunt. Suasimus vobis, sicut et ante nos et una nobiscum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, ceu honestum et utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus jam totum Deo negotium, petimusque ut nobis non sitis ingrati, sed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, vestri amantes in Domino, quem ex animo oramus ut ipse, qui fidelis est custos ecclesiæ suæ, dissidium hoc infelix, inter vos
337 exortum, componat et ecclesiæ suæ tranquillitatem reddat. Memineritis fratres, obsecramus, per Dominum Jesum, a ministris ecclesiarum non tantum requiri, ut sint fidelis sermonis tenaces, sed ut simul sint prudentes domûs Dei dispensatores, rationem habentes familiæ, temporumque; et ut patienter, per charitatem, plurima sustineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, denique per omnia ecclesiam in pace conservent, nimiâque suâ vehementiâ, morositate aut importunitate, bonum quidem sed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis et pietati etc. Dominus Jesus concedat vobis Spiritum suum sanctum et dirigat vos in viis suis. Valete fratres.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr.
anno Dom. 1566.

Heinrychus Bullingerus,
Suo et sui GUALTHERI nomine.

## Number LXXXI. [p. 312.]

*Bullinger and Gualter's letter to the earl of Bedford, pressing him to find a temper in that matter.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1602. Ep. IV. p. 81.]

Cum anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, illustrissime princeps, contentionem aliquam de habitu ministrorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa, aliquid majoris mali daret ecclesiæ: et ideo a viris piis et cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum et pium videbatur. Monuimus enim ecclesiarum ministros, ne ob rem non adeo magni momenti ab ecclesiis discederent, et eas lupis et superstitiosis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepisse diximus. Audimus enim, jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendi, sed insuper multa alia obtrudi piis ministris; quæ merum papatum redolent, imo in Antichristi scholâ primum fabricata sunt, et proinde salvâ pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quod epistolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos eâ de re dedimus. typis excusam esse fertur, et quod multi nostrum de re illâ vestiariâ judicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ in controversiâ esse tunc nesciebamus, et quæ a nobis nunquam probari potue- 338
runt. Et sane justissimi doloris causa est, nostri nominis auctoritate pios fratres gravari, quibus consilium et consolationem afferre, potius quam molestiam exhibere studuimus. Magis tamen urimur scandali consideratione, quod inde exortum esse non dubitamus. Auget præterea tristitiam nostram infelix ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum semper amaverimus, non possumus non totis animis commoveri, quod quæ ex sanguinariis fidei purioris hostibus vixdum liberata nonnihil florere cœperat, nunc intestinis dissidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tuâ virtute, illustrissime princeps, nobis satis constat, et non pauca exstant tuæ pietatis argumenta, ad tuam excellentiam literas dandas esse putavimus, de quâ pii quam plurimi spem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud serenissimam reginam, et in comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud

regni proceres, causam ecclesiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque suum patrocinium piis fratribus deneget; qui etsi aliquâ in re peccârunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illos ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuisse constat, et hoc unum quærere, ut ecclesiam ab omnibus papisticis sordibus repurgatam habeant. Neque illi modo nobis digni videntur, quos pii principes propugnent; sed tota hæc causa ejusmodi est, ut qui in illâ agendâ studium et industriam adhibent, eo facto demum testentur, se principum nomine dignissimos esse. Dignatus est illustres viros eo honore Dominus, ut ecclesiæ ejus nutritii dicantur, quæ sane haus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atque dignitatem longe superat. Erunt autem fideles nutritii, si ecclesiam non modo ex hostium manibus eripiant, verbi prædicationem instaurent, et sacramentorum usum legitimum restituant; verum etiam caveant, ne quæ Christo adduci debet sponsa incontaminata, ullo superstitionum fuco defœdetur, aut ullis ritibus a simplicitate Christianâ, alienis fidem suam suspectam reddat. Et notum est illud Hoseæ, qui ecclesiam Israeliticam monebat, ut scortationes suas non ab uberibus modo, verum etiam a facie removeret.

Quare etiam atque etiam excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, et suâ auctoritate apud serenissimam reginam et regni proceres efficere studeat, ne cum magnâ totius orbis admiratione instituta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformatio, novis sordibus et postliminio reductis infelicis papatûs reliquiis, deformetur. Nam si id fiat, non modo inconstantiæ nota multis in regno vestro florentissimo inuretur, verum etiam infirmi offendentur, et vicinis Scotiæ, Galliæ et Flandriæ ecclesiis, sub cruce adhuc laborantibus scandalum præbebitur, cujus pœnæ in auctores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imo ex vobis exemplum sument vicini veritatis evangelicæ hostes; ut ipsi quoque in suis locis, liberiorem veri Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ superstitionis legibus circumscribant. Liberius hæc dicimus, illustrissime princeps, non quod de tuâ pietate quicquam dubitemus, sed id partim tuâ humanitate incredibili freti facimus, partim rei necessitate adducti. Tuæ Excellentiæ, et multis aliis de hâc causâ cogitandi materiam et occasionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum Optimum Maximum, ut ecclesiæ suæ misertus, pacem veram illi restituat, et tuam

excellentiam tuique similes principes suo Spiritu regat, suo favore protegat, et potenti brachio servet, ad sui nominis glo- 339
riam, et ecclesiæ suæ conservationem. Amen.

Tiguri, 11 Septembris, anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentiæ deditissimi,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, senior;
et Rod. Gualtherus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimo principi, domino*
*Francisco Russello, comiti*
*Bedfordiensi, etc.*

## Number LXXXII. [p. 313.]

*Bullinger and Gualter's letter to bishop Grindal and bishop Horne, for quieting the dispute.*

*Reverendis in Christo patribus, D. Edmundo Gryndallo Londoniensi, et D. Roberto Horno Wintoniensi, in Angliâ episcopis, dominis nostris colendissimis et fratribus charissimis.*

Reverendi in Christo patres, domini honorandi, et fratres charissimi.

Rumore perlatum est ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum literis fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, epistolam illam nostram, quam mense Maio, privatim scripsimus ad honorandos fratres nostros D. Humfredum, et Sampsonem, vobisque dominis nostris et fratribus charissimis, certo consilio exposito a nobis in epistolâ ad vos datâ communicavimus, typis excusam atque publicatam esse, eâque ipsâ illos confirmari, qui jam multos ecclesiarum ministros pios et doctos exauthorârunt, non quidem ob rem vestiariam, de quâ illa nostra scripta est epistola, sed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controversos. De quibus in epistolâ illâ nostrâ nullam instituimus disputationem, quos tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, sed extinguere studio vestri sancto sumus conati, et non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis constabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, si nostra epistola raperetur eo, quasi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re vestiariâ scriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa sententiæ nostræ erat, ecclesias Christi sanguine redemptas, minime esse deserendas propter pileos et vestes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, sed propter ornatum politice usurpari jubeantur. Nunc vero audimus (utinam rumore falso) requiri a ministris, novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione suâ cedant. Articulos vero esse hujusmodi, cantum in templis figuratum, et peregrinâ linguâ, una

Ex MSS. Tigur.

cum strepitu organorum esse retinendum, mulieres in casu necessitatis privatim posse et debere baptisare infantulos. Ministrum quoque infantem oblatum baptismo rogare debere quæstiones, olim catechumenis propositas. Baptisantes item ministros usurpare exufflationes, exorcismos, crucis characterem, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cæreos et hujus generis alia. Docendum esse ministris in perceptione cœnæ Domini, opus esse genuflexione (quæ speciem habet adorationis) nec panem frangendum esse communiter, sed cuilibet communicaturo crustulam ori ejus esse inserendam a ministro. Neque vero modum spiritualis manducationis, et præsentiæ corporis Christi in sacrâ cœnâ explicandum, sed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in metropolitani curiâ, prostare eadem, pluralitates videlicet sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non residendo, pro usu carnium diebus interdictis, et in quadragesimâ, et rebus similibus, pro quibus nisi quis numeret, nihil impetret. Uxores item ministrorum longe arceri a suis maritis, quasi impura sit conjugalis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum est apud Antichristi sacerdotes. Aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publice contradicere, quinimo adigi ministros, ne hanc Camarinam, siquidem ministrare ecclesiis velint, commoveant. Adeoque omnem potestatem gubernationis, vel potestatis ecclesiasticæ penes solos esse episcopos, neque ulli pastorum permitti, in rebus hujusmodi ecclesiasticis, suam dicere sententiam. Quæ si vera sunt, plurimum sane non nobis tantum, sed piis omnibus dolent; oramusque sedulo Dominum, ut hæc ex sanctâ Christi ecclesiâ quæ in Angliâ est eluat, prohibeatque ne quisquam episcoporum, statione suâ dejiciat pastorem ullum hujusmodi articulos recipere aut approbare respuentem. Et quanquam de vestrâ pietate synceritateque hoc nobis persuasissimum habeamus, vos si quid hujus (tam crassa enim extare apud vos vixdum credimus,) in usu apud vos est, ferre et dissimulare ea ad comitia usque regni opportuna, in quibus de superstitione abolendâ commode et prudenter agatur; et si qui sint, qui nostrâ illâ epistolâ abutantur ad quoslibet abusus confirmandos, vos tamen non esse de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur vestram pietatem per Dominum Jesum, ut serio de emendandis expurgandisque istis similibusque superstitionibus, si ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum vestris coepiscopis, et aliis viris

sanctis prudentibusque consultetis, nosque ab injuriâ illâ nobis ab aliis irrogatâ, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim istos articulos, uti perlati sunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus insuper humanitatem vestram, ut hæc a nobis benigno animo accipiatis, qui vestræ concordiæ item synceritatisque in religione regni Anglici sumus studiosissimi, et vobis in Christo addictissimi.

Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, et servet ab omni malo. Salutate obsecramus nostro nomine reliquos reverendissimos patres in Christo, dominos nostros honorandos et fratres charissimos Angliæ episcopos. Reginæ quoque serenissimæ semper nos
341 commendate. Cui optamus vitam longævam, et gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumque et beatum regnum, et omnia quæ pii exoptare possunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb.[76] anno 1556.

Vestræ pietatis humanitatisque deditissimi,
Heinrychus Bullingerus, et Rod. Gualtherus, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ pastores et ministri.

[76] [This letter, which has been corrected from the autograph at Zurich, has no date of the day of the month. The folio edition without authority adds the date of the sixth.]

## Number LXXXIII. [p. 314.]

*A letter of bishop Grindal and bishop Horne, giving a full account of their sense of all the matters complained of in the church of England.*

N. B. *Ex præcipuis.*

*Edmundus Londinensis, et Robertus Wintoniensis, Heinricho Bullingero, et Rodolpho Gualtero.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXV. p. 104.]

ERUDITAS vestras literas ad Humfredum et Sampsonem, et commodissimas, cum ad nostras de vestibus animorum dissensiones, tum verborum altercationes atque pugnas sedandas, quam libentissime accepimus: acceptas non sine certo consilio, parcentes tamen fratrum nominibus, typis excudi atque publicari curavimus, indeque fructum quidem amplissimum, quemadmodum speramus, percepimus. Nam sanis quidem viris, universum evangelicorum institutum et finem spectantibus, multum profuere: ministros certo nonnullos qui de deserendo ministerio propter rem vestiariam, quæ jam sola controversa, ac causa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitârunt, persuasos ne ecclesias fraudari suâ operâ sinerent propter rem tantillam, confirmatosque reddidere, et in vestram sententiam retraxere: plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes distrahebatur, piosque ministros contumeliâ afficiebat, quasi concordiâ quâdam illos placavere ac leniere temperantiâ: morosis vero et nihil præterquam quod ipsi sta- 342
tuerant præferre valentibus, etsi non satisfecere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proscindere, pacemque ecclesiæ salutarem sermonibus suis morologis non adeo audacter fœdare, velint aut possint. Ex hiis quosdam esse exauctoratos, etsi suâ ipsorum culpâ, ut gravius in illos non dicamus, fatemur et dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non sint multi sed pauci, et utut pii, certe non adeo docti. Nam solus Sampsonus inter eos qui exauctorati sunt, et pius pariter ac doctus est habendus. Humfredus vero ac doctiores omnes in suâ hactenus statione manent. Quod si vestra epistola typis excusa ac publicata fuisset, ut qui ex-

auctorarunt, confirmarentur: si qui exauctorati sunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controversos et non ob rem solam vestiariam de gradu fuissent dejecti suo: si denique illa epistola quæ verbis adeo exquisitis ac perspicuis solam controversiam vestiariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non possit, ad approbandos articulos nobis ignotos, necdum apud nos Dei gratiâ controversos (nam nulli nobis cum fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venere nisi hic solus vestiarius) raperetur: luculenta profecto vobis, quos amamus, colimus, et in Domino honoramus, fuisset injuria: sicut nobis manifesta adhibita est calumnia ab hiis qui auctores fuerunt vanissimi rumoris, quo apud nos perlatum fuit, a ministris ecclesiæ requiri novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione suâ cedant.

Summa controversiæ nostræ hæc est. Nos tenemus ministros ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publicâ auctoritate jam præscripto, tum in administratione sacrâ, tum in usu externo, præsertim cum ut res indifferenter proponantur, tantum propter ordinem et debitam legibus obedientiam usurpari jubeantur: et omnis superstitionis cultus ac necessitatis quod ad conscientias attinet, opinio, legum ipsarum præscripto et sincerioris doctrinæ prædicatione assiduâ quantum fieri potest amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant vestes has in numerum *τῶν ἀδιαφόρων*, jam haudquaquam esse ascribendas, impias esse, papisticas ac idololatricas: et propterea, omnibus piis uno consensu ministerio cedendum potius quam cum istis pannicullariis papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, ecclesiæ inservire: licet doctrinam sincerissimam prædicandi necnon omnimodos errores seu abusus sive in ritibus, sive in doctrinâ, sive in sacramentis, sive in moribus, per sanam doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, summam habeamus libertatem. Istuc istorum immaturum consilium accipere non possumus: quomodo nec impetuosas eorum adhortationes, quibus pacem ecclesiæ indesinenter pro suggestu disturbant, religionemque nostram universam in periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam istiusmodi suis celeusmatibus, serenissimæ reginæ animum alioqui ad optime merendum de religione propensum, irritari, proh dolor, nimium experti sumus: et procerum quorundam animos, ut de aliis taceamus,

ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes, hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certo certius scimus. Ecquis dubitare possit, quin papistæ hujusmodi occasionem nacti, virus suum pestilentissimum eructabunt, evoment in evangelium Jesu Christi, ejusque professores omnes, in spem erecti, jam oportunitatem se habere suam sibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodsi inconsulto nostrorum consilio acquiesceremus, ut omnes junctis viribus impetum in vestes legibus constabilitas, contra legem faciamus, 343
perimamus, ac deleamus omnino, aut simul omnes munia exuamus; papisticum profecto vel saltem Lutherano-papisticum haberemus ministerium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum optimum maximum testamur, fratres in Christo honorandi; neque culpâ evenisse dissidium hoc nostrâ, nec per nos stare quo minus istiusmodi vestes e medio tollerentur: imo sanctissime licet juremus, laborâsse nos hactenus quanto potuimus studio, fide, diligentiâ, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres postulant, et nos optamus. Verum in tantas adductis angustias, quid faciendum? (multa vobis, qui prudentes et ad pericula ecclesiis impendentia perspicienda estis sagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) nisi ut cum non possumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino id quod possumus.

Hactenus rem controversam et plenam dissensionis inter nos ut se habet, exposuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum est, accipite: Falsissimus omnino est ille rumor, si tamen rumor dicendus sit (novimus enim prudentiam vestram, ac modestiam, et laudamus) de receptione, subscriptione, et approbatione novorum istorum articulorum quos recensetis. Nec magis sunt veraces, qui sive scriptis suis epistolis, sive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere sunt conati. Plerique enim omnes isti articuli falso nobis objiciuntur; perpauci recipiuntur: horum omnino nulli, fratribus suâ subscriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, una cum strepitu organorum, retinendum nos non affirmamus, imo prout decet, insectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorcismos, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et ejus generis alia, ex legum præscripto nunquam revocanda, penitus amisit ecclesia Anglicana. Mulieres posse aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorsus assentimur. In cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere,

cuilibet communicaturo non ori inserere, sed in manus tradere: modum spiritualis manducationis, et præsentiæ corporis Christi in sacrâ cœnâ, explicari leges jubent, usus confirmat, oblatratores nostri Anglo-Lovanienses nefariis suis scriptis testantur. Uxores ministrorum non arcentur a suis maritis; cohabitant, et eorum conjugium apud omnes (semper papistas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minus falsum est quod oblatrant, penes solos episcopos omnem esse ecclesiasticæ gubernationis potestatem, etsi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujusmodi ecclesiasticis in synodo deliberari solet. Synodus autem indicitur, edicto regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius regni parliamentum, ut vocatur. Adsunt episcopi, adsunt etiam totius provinciæ pastorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures sunt quam episcopi. Hii seorsum ab episcopis de rebus ecclesiasticis deliberant, et nihil in synodo statuitur, aut definitur, sine communi eorum ac episcoporum, aut majoris saltem illorum partis, consensu et approbatione. Tantum abest ut pastoribus non permittatur in hujusmodi rebus ecclesiasticis suam dicere sententiam. Recipimus quidem, seu potius toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, et crucis characterem in baptismo, in cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem; et regiam facultatum curiam, quam metropolitani vocant. Quæstiones istiusmodi non adeo accommode
344 infantibus proponi, etsi ex Augustino videantur emendicatæ, publice profitemur, ac sedulo docemus.

Crucis charactere frontem jam baptizati infantis notare; etsi minister palam conceptis verbis, profiteatur signatum esse cruce infantulum, solummodo in signum quod in posterum illum non pudebit fidei Christi crucifixi, idque ex vetustiori ecclesiâ videatur transsumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in sacræ cœnæ perceptione, quoniam ita lege constitutum est, permittimus: câ tamen expositione, seu potius cautione, quam ipsi genuflexionis auctores, viri sanctissimi ac martyres Jesu Christi constantissimi, adhibuerunt, diligentissime populo declaratâ, promulgatâ, inculcatâ. Quæ sic ad verbum habet: *Etsi in Libro Precum statutum sit, ut communicantes genuflectendo sacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quasi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, sive sacramentali pani ac vino, sive ulli*

*reali et essentiali præsentiæ ibi existenti, naturalis carnis et sanguinis Christi. Nam sacramentalis panis et vinum permanent in ipsis suis naturalibus substantiis, et propterea non sunt adoranda: id enim idololatria horrenda esset, omnibus Christianis detestanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac sanguinem Servatoris nostri Christi attinet, in cœlo sunt et non sunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Christi est, pluribus quam uno inesse locis, uno atque eodem tempore.* Facultatum curia, undecunque est allata, regia est, non metropolitani. Is enim prudens pater, doctus et ad sincerissimam religionem propagandam optime affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorsus eluere peroptat, conatur, satagit. Et licet omnes hujus fiscalis curiæ, sicut etiam alios nonnullos abusus, e medio tollere non possumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis insequi, ad tartara usque, unde prorepserunt, detrudere non desistimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi: unicuique licet ministro omnibus istiusmodi articulis, cum modestiâ et sobrietate et privatim et publice contradicere. Pastores vero articulos istos nobis falso impositos, recipere aut approbare nolentes, statione suâ haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, solummodo pro re vestiariâ, extinguatur. Nosque operam dabimus, quantum fieri possit, quemadmodum in proximis comitiis fecimus, etsi nihil obtinere potuimus; ut omnes errores et abusus ad amussim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos fratres gratiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem oramus ut vos incolumes, vestrasque ecclesias in pace quam diutissime conservet. Salutate nostro nomine fratres ac symmystas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarii, anno Domini 1567.

Vestrum omnium amantissimus,

Edm. London.
Rob. Winton.

*Addita manu Winton' sequentia.* 345

P. S. Obsecro et ego vos, fratres mihi plurimum observandi, (ignoscatis mihi) quod literis vestris ad me privatim scriptis, hactenus non responderim; nec pro doctissimis vestris commentariis ad me transmissis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim

Neque mihi illud ipsum vitio vertant Wolvius et Lavaterus; quos quæso, meo nomine, plurimum salutate, et me apud illos excusate. Scio enim officii mei rationem hoc ipsum efflagitâsse; et vos, illosque, meas literas desiderâsse, non dubito. Efficiam posthac, scribendo vos omnes expleam, et officio non desim meo. Salutem etiam a me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Hallero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Christo.

Totus vester,

Robertus Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimis viris, D. Henrico Bullingero, et D. Rod. Gualtero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ pastoribus fidelissimis.*

## Number LXXXIV. [p. 315.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, concerning the debates in parliament relating to the succession, and the heats in the disputes about the vestments.*

*Johannes Juellus Henrico Bullingero.*
S. P. in Christo.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXVII. p. 109.]

Proximæ literæ meæ, ornatissime vir, cum Londinum tardiuscule venissent, et Francofordiam ad Nundinas proficisci non possent, re infectâ, domum ad me reversæ sunt. Quod nonnihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in istas accidat.

De prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me literis proximis, prolixe tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de synodo illâ Francofordiensi, ut de re obscurâ, et controversâ, egregie satisfactum 346
esse et fateor et gaudeo. Res nostræ ecclesiasticæ, publicæ privatæque, eo loco nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant, et turbant, quantum possunt: et habent fautores, etsi non ita multos, plures tamen multo quam velim. Et quamvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes scribant, tamen nescio, quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaque dum illis respondeo, ne me esse otiosum putes.

Habuimus, proximis istis mensibus, comitia totius regni: illis ego, per valetudinem, interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt leges de religione, quibus papistarum obstinata malitia, atque insolentia in officio contineatur. Actum etiam est de successione; hoc est, cui familiæ jus regni debeatur, si quid Elizabethæ reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea contentio mensem unum, atque alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum regina eâ de re agi nollet, reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, et utrinque magnis viribus, et studiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris?

Effici postremo nihil potuit: regina enim, ut est fœmina imprimis prudens et provida, hærede semel designato, suspicatur, aliquid sibi creari posse periculi. Nôsti enim illud, *Plures orientem solem adorant, quam occidentem.*

De religione, causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti: fratres autem nostri quidam ita câ de re pugnant, ac si in eâ unâ omnis nostra religio versaretur. Itaque functiones abjicere, et ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt, quam tantillum de sententiâ decedere. Neque aut tuis aut D. Gualteri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum piorum virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc tempore, gravioribus quæstionibus exerceri. Unus tamen quispiam e nostro numero, episcopus Glocestrensis, in comitiis aperte, et fidenter dixit, probari sibi Lutheri sententiam de eucharistiâ; sed ea seges non erit, spero, diuturna.

In Hibernià, nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nostris regibus. Johannes quidem Onelus, spurius, conscripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provocavit. Sed plus in eâ re moræ est, quam periculi. Is enim longe abdit sese in paludes, et solitudines; quo noster miles consequi facile non possit.

E Scotiâ vero, (quid ego dicam? aut tu, quid credas?) horrenda atque atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejusmodi sint, ut credi vix possint, et ex aulâ usque ad me scribuntur, et passim jactantur, et creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hisce admodum diebus, una cum uno famulo, quem habuit a cubiculis, interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foras, et relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista commemorare. Si ista vera sint, ne sint; tamen si sint, quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In præsentiâ, nec ea, quæ ita constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea, quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare.

Julium nostrum, audio, Tiguri esse mortuum: mitto tamen ad illum viginti coronatos Gallicos, si vivit, ut illi cedant: sin autem, quod nolim, est mortuus, ut in epulum scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium, scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, et alios: imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum; ad quem, hactenus homo

ingratus, nunquam scripsi. Quæso, ut hosce omnes, atque 347
etiam in primis D. Rodolphum et D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime.

Sarisberiæ in Angliâ.
Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Christo,
Johannes Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero ministro ecclesiæ Tigurinæ fidelissimo, viro longe doctissimo, et domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number LXXXV. [p. 315.]

*A letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, of the state affairs were in, both in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Netherlands.*

Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXIII. p. 82.]

Quid ego dicam, doctissime vir et carissime pater? Et pudet et dolet; pudet primum, non scripsisse ad te sæpius, deinde dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos pervenire; obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut scholam Tigurinam, aut rempublicam, aut illam vestram humanitatem tantam tam cito ex animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, et in sinu gero, et te inprimis, mi pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad literas attinet, equidem, præterquam, anno illo superiori cum peste, et luc omnia ubique clausa essent, cæteroqui nunquam intermisi scribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis literis superioribus, quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse a Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed missa ista facio.

Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quas tibi, pro tuâ pietate, magis cordi esse, sat scio. Primum de religione omnia domi Dei optimi maximi beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant, et impediunt quantum possunt et evulgatis libris, nescio quo
348 meo, fatone dicam an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse otiosum. Offertur mihi inter alia, causa illa ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industriâ ornavi pluribus: sed nostrâ linguâ, utpote hominibus nostris. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, et ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur, in singulos dies magis magisque delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri phasma, quod nunc nuper dedit:

et tibi, et de illo libro, et de omnibus literis tuis, et de omni tuâ humanitate, ago gratias.

Respublica domi, forisque, terrâ marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, et nos et nostri vicissim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitiâ hæc omnia cœpta sunt, id egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod vere e lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat religionem una posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potius in auctorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant. Flandricum autem vulgus digressis nostris mercatoribus, et emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indigne ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari.

Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostris utuntur legibus. In illam insulam, papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit hominem sceleratum, et callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret, (erat enim Hibernus,) et gentem feram et silvestrem contra nos religionis causâ commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus, et vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superos, Acheronta movere. In Scotiâ ita est ut volumus. Regina sola missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus.

Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi pater. Dominus Jesus te quam diutissime servet superstitem, et incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wicium; ad quos singulos darem literas si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obruerer negotiis.

Sarisberiæ, in Angliâ, calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,
tibique deditissimus,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

## 349 Number LXXXVI. [p. 316.]

*The end of a letter written to Zurich, setting forth the temper of some bishops in these matters.*

—Nunc patres illud petimus, et in Christo contendimus etiam atque etiam, (quod vos ultro benignissime polliciti estis) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, et si non amplius aliquid potestis, saltem hoc tantum exoretis: ut et in fratres nostros adhuc in Angliâ remanentes mitiores esse velint, et fæces ex suis ecclesiis removentes, si non adjuvare, at saltem tolerare, et ipsorum factis connivere velint; utque vos reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigorniensi, et Dunelmensi episcopis, in vestris epistolis pollicitis, justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis: atque illis, simul et fratribus ministris studentibus repurgationi ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc, si pro vestrâ summâ benignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modo non fatigabimus alias ecclesias novis precibus, sed et nos, omnesque vere pii, omnia vobis ob pacem et concordiam vestrâ operâ ecclesiæ partam debebimus; et Deus Optimus Maximus vobis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, æternam coronam tribuet. Amen.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1602, Ep. LVIII. p. 90.]

Vestræ dignitatis studiosissimi,

Georgius Witherus, } Angli.
Johan. Barthelottus, }

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendis in Christo patribus ac dominis suis longe colendissimis, domino Henr. Bullingero et D. Rodolpho Gualtero, ecclesiæ Christianæ Tiguri ministris fidissimis, etc.*

## Number LXXXVII. [p. 316.] 350

*Bullinger and Gualter's letter to the bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich, interceding for favour to those whose scruples were satisfied in those matters.*

Intercessionales pro tolerantiâ.

Reverendi viri domini colendissimi, et fratres in Domino carissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet vos ab omni malo.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1602. Ep. LXIV. p. 99.]

Quo vehementius favemus vobis, reverendi domini et fratres carissimi, eo dolemus gravius dissidere vos a fratribus aliquot, viris doctis, in Angliâ gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitis sinceræ quod frequentius eâdem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus et accepimus vestram in hâc causâ excusationem: interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis ecclesiæ doctores, necnon aliarum in Angliâ ecclesiarum, in Marianâ persecutione probatos homines, quorum fide et diligentiâ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sævissimis istis tempestatibus conservatæ sint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque et in tetros retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernià ecclesiarum ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant, quam illi ipsi qui in Angliâ sustinent persecutionem. Illos autem episcopi sui beneficio, et apud regiam Majestatem, interventu agere in summâ tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si episcopi qui in Angliâ sunt apud Regiam majestatem etiam intercederent, fore ut et ipsi tranquille sibi commissas possint retinere et gubernare ecclesias. Et quod hâc in causâ præcipuum est, episcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere causam afflictos et dejectos. Nam agnoscere eos ecclesiam rectius constitui et constitutam gubernari sine illis ceremoniis ritibusve et institutis, quam cum illis, adeo ut si ipsismet offeratur optio, malint ipsi sibi ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis oneratam sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliquescat manifestissime, quod in regni comitiis, non

semel episcopi petierint, a Regiâ Majestate ut tollantur illa et purgatior ornatiorque aut minus saltem onerata fiat ecclesia.

Quæ cum ita sint, reverendi domini et fratres carissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubie vestra pietas ad consultandum, quo-
351 modo fieri possit commode et mature, ut fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, et ne ita gravi persecutione premantur, quin potius Regiæ majestatis clementiâ in regno tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia ecclesiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis, vos alioqui peritissimos omnis pietatis et æquitatis, urgeamus; tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut si apud Regiam Majestatem afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorsus adimere potestis, pro Christianâ caritate, illis omnem vestram fidelem impendatis operam; et nostram hanc admonitionem fraternam boni consulatis, solitoque amore nos vestri amantissimos prosequi pergatis. Valete, honorandi domini.

Tiguri, 26 Augusti,
1567.

Bullingerus et Gualterus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Londinensi, Wintoniensi, et Norvicensi,*
*episcopis in Angliâ.*

## Number LXXXVIII. [p. 317.]

*A part of a letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXVII. p. 89.]

—— Contentio illa de ecclesiasticâ veste lineâ, de quâ vos vel ab Abele nostro vel a D. Parkhursto audîsse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: atque utinam omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia papatûs et e templis, et multo maxime ex animis omnium auferri possent. Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest. Res Scoticæ nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt: nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alii domi remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex papistarum agris agunt feruntque quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat: nam de religione adversariam habet magnam partem et nobilitatis et populi: et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus rex, abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et regem reginamque juvaret veteratorio consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper hactenus abstinuisset a missis, et ultro accessisset ad conciones, ut se populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulsuram postridie, factus repente confidentior, sumptis animis, noluit longius dissimulare. Accedit ad templum; jubet sibi de more dici missam. Eodem ipso tempore, D. Knoxus, concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, maximâ frequentia clamare in idolomanias, et in universum regnum pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempestatibus et ventis, fluctibusque concussa et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus et rebus, omnibus inanis, et 352

lacera, et aquæ plena, defertur in Angliam. Hæc ego non dubito divinitus contigisse, ut rex fatuus intelligat, quam sit auspicatum audire missas. E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisiana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo: verum ista vobis multo propiora sunt, quam nobis. Danus, et Suevus, cruentissime inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in armis. Uterque affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest.

Libri vestri (tuus, reverende pater, in Danielem, et tuus, doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam) incolumes ad me delati sunt: ego et Deo optimo maximo de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deque omni vestrâ humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum, in annuum stipendium, viginti coronatos; et alteros totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, ecclesiam, rempublicam, scholamque vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wicium, D. Hallerum, DD. Henricum et Rodolphum Bullingeros, meo nomine.

Sarisberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri amans, et
studiosus in Domino,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number LXXXIX. [p. 319.]

*The nobility, gentlemen, barons, with superintendents, ministers and others, professing the evangel of Jesus Christ, within this realm: to the king's and queen's majesty, and the Christian estate of this realm presently . . . into parliament, wisheth the fear of God, with the spirit of righteous judgment.*

Cotton lib. [Caligula, B. X. fol. 101 b. al. 109 b.]

FORASMUCH as in the convention of the kirk, holden at Edenburghe the 25th day of June last past, certain gentlemen then were directed to the queen's majesty, with certain articles concerning the religion, desiring her majesty's answer thereupon: to the which howbeit her majesty then gave some particular answer, not the less her majesty remitted the further answer to this present parliament. And therefore we, of our duty, can do no less nor crave the full answer of the said 353
articles in this present parliament, conform to the queen's grace own appointment. And also in respect that the parliament, holden at Edinburghe the 10th of July 1560 years, it was determined and concluded the masses, papistry, and papist jurisdiction, to be simply abolished and put away out of this realm, and Christ's religion to be retained universally and approved. And in like manner, in respect that the queen's majesty, by many, divers, and sundry proclamations, has ratified and approved Christ's religion; which she found publicly restaint in this realm at her arrival, and especially upon the fifteenth day of September last at Dundc: the king and queen's majesty, with the advice of their secret council, promised as well by the act of secret counsel, as by divers and sundry proclamations made thereupon, publicly in the principal burghs of this realm, to establish in this present parliament the religion of Christ, which they found publicly and universally standing at their arrival in Scotland; and all acts, laws, and constitutions, common, civil, or municipal, prejudicial to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the said acts and proclamations more fully proports. Desiring therefore the

premises to be considered, together with the said articles, and the queen's majesty's answers to the same, with the kirk's reply thereupon as follows.

## THE ARTICLES.

[fol. 102. al. 110.]

*These are the articles which the nobility, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other professors of Christ evangell, crave with all humility at the queen's majesty, and her honourable council, within this realm of Scotlande.*

1. *Inprimis*, That the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistry, idolatry, and pope's jurisdiction, be universally suppressed and abolished throughout this whole realm, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's majesty's own person, with punishment against all persons that shall be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: and that the sincere word of God, and Christ true religion, now presently received, might be established, approved, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's majesty's own person as in the subjects, without any impediment: and that the people be astricted to resort, upon the Sundays at least, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, like as they were astricted before to resort to the idolaters' mass: and these heads to be provided by act of parliament, with the consent of the estates, and ratification of the queen's majesty.

354 2. *Secondly*, That sure provision be appointed for sustentation of the ministry, as well for the time present as for the time to come; and that such persons as are publicly admitted in the ministry may have their livings assigned unto them in the towns where they travel, or at the least next adjacent thereto: and that they have not occasion to crave the same at the hands of any others. And that the benefices now vacant, or that have vaked since the month of Marche, anno 1558, or that hereafter shall happen to vake, be disponed to qualified and learned persons, able to preach God's word, and to discharge the vacation concerning the ministry by trial, and admission of the superintendents: and that no bishopric, abbey, priory, deaconry, provostry, or any other benefice having many churches annexed thereto, be disponed

altogether at any time to come, to any one man: but at the least, the churches thereof be severally disponed, and to several persons, so that any man having charge may serve at his own church, according to his vocation. And to this effect, that the glebes and manses be given to the ministry, that they make residence at their churches, wherethrough they may discharge their consciences, conform to their vocation, and also that the churches may be repaired accordingly; and that a law be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

3. *Thirdly*, That none be permitted to have charge of schools, colleges, or universities, or yet privately or publicly instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried by the superintendents, or the visitors of the church, found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.
4. *Fourthly*, For sustentation of the poor, that all lands founded to hospitality of old be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, annual rents, or any other emoluments pertaining any ways sometime to the friars of whatsoever order they had been of, or annual rents, altarage, obits pertaining to the priests, be applied to the sustentation of the poor, and uphold of schools in the towns, and other places where they lie.
5. *Fifthly*, That all such horrible crimes, as now abounds in this realm, without any correction, to the great attempt of God and his holy word, such as idolatry, blasphemy of God's name, manifest breaking of the sabbath day, with witchcraft, sorcery, and enchantment, adultery, incest, manifest whoredom, maintenance of berdealls, murder, slaughter, reyfe and spulze, with many other detestable crimes, may be severely punished; and judges appointed in every province or diocese for execution thereof, with power to do the same, and that by act of parliament.

*Last*, That some order be devised and established for the ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of their teynds, and setting of their teyndis to others over their heads, without their own advice and consent.

355 *The queen's majesty's answer to the articles, presented to her highness by certain gentlemen, in the name of the whole last assembly of the kirk.* [fol. 103.]

To the first, desiring the mass to be suppressed and abolished, as well in the head as members, with punishment against the contradoenars; as also that religion now professed to be established by act of parliament. It is answered, first, for the part of her majesty's self, that her highness is yet no wise persuaded in the said religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the mass; and therefore believes that her loving subjects will no ways press her to receive any religion against her conscience: which should be to her continual trouble, by remorse of conscience, and therethrough an perpetual inquietness. And to deal plainly with her subjects, her majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion, wherein she has been nourished and upbrought, and believes the same to be well grounded; knowing besides the grudge of conscience, if she should receive any change in her own religion, that she should leave the friendship of the king of France, the ancient ally of this realm, and of other great princes her friends and confederates: who would take the same in evil part. And of whom she may look for their great support in her necessities and having no other confederation that may contravene the same. She will be loath to put in hazard the loss of all her friends in an instant; praying all her loving subjects, seeing they had experience of her goodness, that she has neither in times by past, nor yet means hereafter press the conscience of any man, but that they may worship God in such sort as they are persuaded to be the best, that they will always not press her to offend her own conscience. As to the establishment in the body of realm; these yourselves know as appears well by your articles, that the same cannot be done, by the only consent of her majesty, but requires necessarily the consent of the three estates in parliament. And therefore so soon as the parliament holds, that thing which the three estates agree upon amongst yourselves, her majesty shall grant the same unto you. And always shall make you sure that no man shall be troubled for using yourselves in religion according to your consciences; so that

no man shall have cause to doubt that for religious causes men's lives or heritages shall be inhaserid.

To the second article, that her majesty thinks it no ways reasonable that she should defraud herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to put the patronages of the benefices forth of her own hands. For her own necessity, in bearing of her, and common charges, will require the retention of one guide in her own hands; nochtyelles her majesty is well pleased that consideration being had of her own necessity, and what may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers, and special assignation be made to you in places 356
most commodious and with the which her majesty shall not intromit, but suffer the same to run to them.

The answer of the rest of the articles is referred to the parliament.

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[fol. 103 b.] *The kirk's reply to the queen's majesty's answers aforesaid.*

FIRST, where her majesty answers that she is not persuaded in the religion; neither that she understands any impiety in the mass, but that the same is well grounded, &c. This is no small grief to the Christian hearts of her godly subjects; considering that the trumpet of Christ's evangell has been so long blown in this country; and his mercy so plainly offered in the same: that her majesty yet remains unpersuaded of the truth of this our religion; for our religion is not else, but the same religion which Christ in the last days revealed from the bosom of his Father: whereof he made his apostles messengers, and which they preached and established amongst his faithful to continue till the again coming of the Lord Jesus: which differs from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and vain superstition of the papists in this, that only our religion has God the Father, his only Son our Lord Jesus, his Holy Spirit speaking in his prophets and apostles, for authors thereof: and the doctrine and practice for ground of the same. The which assurance no other religion upon the face of the earth can justly allege or plainly prove; yea, whatsoever assurance the papists has for their religion, the same has the Turk for the maintenance of the Alcarone; and the Jews far greater for the defence of their ceremonies; whether it

be antiquity of time, consent of people, authority of princes, great number or multitude consenting together, or any other such like cloaks, that they can pretend. And therefore as we are dolorous that her majesty in this our religion is not persuaded, so most reverently we require in the name of the eternal God, that her highness would embrace the means whereby she may be persuaded in the truth. Which presently we offer unto her grace, as well by preaching of his word, which is the chief means appointed by God to persuade all his chosen children of his infallible verity. As by public disputation against the adversaries of this our religion deceivers of her majesty whensoever it shall be thought expedient to her grace. And as to the impiety of the messe, we dare be bold till affirm, that in that idol there is great impiety, yet it is nothing else but a mess of impiety from the beginning to the ending. The author, or sayer, the action itself, the opinion thereof contained, the hearers of it, gazers upon it,
357 avoure it pronounces blasphemy, and commits most abominable idolatry, as we have ever offered, and yet offer ourselves most manifestly to prove. And where her majesty esteems that the change of her religion should dissolve the confederacy and alliance, that she has with the king of France and other princes, &c.

Assuredly Christ's true religion is the undoubted means to knit up surely perfect confederacy and friendship with him that is King of all kings; and who has the hearts of all princes in his hands. Which ought to be more precious unto her majesty, nor the confederacy of all the princes of the earth; and without the which, neither confederacy, love, or kindness can long endure.

Concerning her majesty's answer to the second article, where [fol. 112 b.]
as she thinks it no ways reasonable to defraud herself of her patronage of the benefices, which her majesty esteems to be a portion of her patrimony. And that her majesty is minded to retain an good part of the benefices in her own hands to support her common charges: as to the first point, our mind is not that her majesty, or any other patron of this realm, should be defrauded of their just patronages, but we mean that whensoever her majesty, or any other patron does present any personage to any benefice, that the parson presently should be

tried and examinated by the judgment of the learned men of the kirk, so as pertaineth, as the superintendents appointed thereto. And as the presentation of the benefices appertain to the patrons, so ought the collation thereof by law and reason appertain to the church; of the which collation the kirk should not be defrauded, more nor the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise, if it shall be lawful to the patrons absolutely to present whom they please, without trial or examination, what then can abide in the kirk of God, but mere ignorance without all order? As to the second part, concerning the retention of a good part of the benefices in her majesty's own hands, this point abhors so far from good conscience, as well as of God's law, as from the public order of all common laws; that we are loath to open up the ground of the matter, by any long circumstances. And therefore most reverently we wish that her majesty would consider the matter with herself, and her wise council, that howsoever the patronages of the benefice may appertain to herself, yet the retention thereof in her own hands undisponing them to qualified persons, is both ungodly, and also contrary to all politic order, and final confusion to the pure souls of the common people; who by this means should be instructed of their salvation. And where her majesty concludes in her second answer, that she is content that an sufficient and reasonable sustentation of the ministers be provided to them, by assignation in places most commodious and easiest to them; consideration being had of her own necessity. As we are altogether desirous that her gracious necessity be relieved, so our duty craves that we should notify to your grace the true order that should be observed in this behalf, which is this, The teynds are properly to be reputed to be the patrimony of the kirk, upon the which before all things they that travells in the ministry thereof, and the poor indigent members of Christ's body are to be sustained. The kirks also repaired, and the youthead up in good letters: which things be and done, than other necessity reasonable might be 358
supported according as her majesty and her godly council could think expedient. Always we cannot but thank her majesty most reverently, of her liberal offer, of assignations to be made to the ministers for their sustentation. Which not the less is so generally conceived that without more special condescending

upon the particularity thereof, no expectation is able to follow thereupon. And so to conclude with her majesty at this parliament, we desire most earnestly the performance of the said articles, beseeching God that as they are reasonable and godly in themselves; so your majesty's heart, and the estates jointly convened, may be inclined and persuaded to the performance thereof.

## Number XC. [p. 322.]

*The supplication to the queen's majesty of Scotlande.*

*To the queen's most excellent majesty, her grace's humble subjects, professing the evangel of Christ Jesus within this realm, wisheth long prosperity, with the spirit of righteous judgment.*

Cotton lib. Calig. B. x. [fol. 105. al. 113.]

It is not unknown unto your majesty, that within this realm the evangell of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the true religion so established; idolatry, to wit, the masses, and all that thereto appertaineth, together with the usurped and tyrannical power of that Roman antichrist, called the pope, so suppressed, as well by the mighty power and hand of God, as by just laws and decrees of parliament, that none within this realm durst in public have gainsaid the one nor maintained the other. It is further known, that such as in whose hands God of his mercy had prospered the beginning of this his work, were going forward to an exact and perfect reformation concerning the policy of the church, according to the word of God, and sustentation of them that travell in the same. But these now our most just and godly beginnings have now been stayed and troubled near the space of four years, to the great grief of all godly hearts within this realm. Shortly after your grace's arrival, was that idol the mass erected up again: and thereafter were wicked men, enemies to Christ Jesus and his holy evangell, reposed in the places which they never possessed, and were admitted to receive the fruits, that by no just law can appertain to them: and that under colour they should pay their thirds to your majesty's comptroller, and such as he should depute for the 359
receiving of the same; to the end as we understand, that our ministers and ministry might have been planted and sustained according to God's commandment. And albeit we were plainly forewarned that such beginning would not have any happy end; yet the love that we bare to the tranquillity of your realm, and esperance and hope that we had, that God of his mercy would mollify your highness' heart, to hear his blessed evangell publicly preached, we quietly passed over many things that

were in our hearts, as also many times by our supplications unto your majesty, we desired to have been redressed: but how little we have profited to this day, both great and small amongst us begin now to consider. For laws we see violated, idolatry increased, your highness' own gates against proclamations made a patent to the foolish people to commit idolatry: the patrimony of the church we see bestowed upon persons most unworthy, and to other uses than was first intended: and thereby the tyranny of that Romaine antichrist to be intrused upon us again; our ministers brought to extreme poverty; some of them troubled in their function, some preachers hurt, and no redress made. Fornication, adultery, incest, murder, sorcerers, bewitchers, and all impiety so to abound universally within this your highness' realm, that God cannot long spare to strike the head and the members, unless speedy repentance follow. We therefore, now continuing in our former humble suit, most humbly require of your majesty a speedy reformation of the enormities aforesaid, and a favourable answer of our just petitions; as more fully your majesty please receive in articles; most humbly beseeching your highness to have this opinion of us, that as to this day your grace have found nothing in us but due obedience to your majesty's laws and authority, which we have given, because we are the only part of your people that truly fear God, so to esteem of us, that God his Christ Jesus, and his true religion which we profess, (and by his grace shall be,) to us more dear than lives, possessions, or respect of prosperity. And therefore yet again we the holy body, professing Christ Jesus within this realm, humbly crave of your majesty, that ye give us not occasion to think that ye intend nothing but the subversion of Christ Jesus his true religion, and in the overthrow of it, the destruction of us, the best part of the subjects of this your grace's realm: for this before the world we plainly profess, that to that Romaine antichrist we will never be subject, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppress it) any of his usurped authority to have place within this realm. And thus, with all humble and dutiful obedience, we humbly crave your grace's favourable answer, with this our appointed commissioner.

## Number XCI. [p. 322.] 360

*A letter of Parkhurst bishop of Norwich to Bullinger, concerning the state of affairs in Scotland, and the killing of signor David.*

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXII. p. 98.]

Salvus sis in Christo, optime Bullingere. Secundo[77] Februarii scripsi ad te, et una cum literis misi viginti coronatos, vel decem coronatos et pannum pro togâ: nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permisi.

Tuas accepi 23^tio Maii. Paulo post Londinensis episcopus, exemplar responsionis tuæ ad literas Laurentii Humphredi, et Thomæ Sampsonis, ad me misit. Quæ scripsisti, typis apud nos excuduntur, et Latine, et Anglice. Accepi præterea, 12 Julii, Confessionem Fidei orthodoxæ, sane pulcherrimum libellum.

Mense Martio, Italus quidam, vocatur Senior David, necromanticæ artis peritus, in magnâ gratiâ apud reginam Scotiæ, e reginæ cubiculo (illâ præsente) vi extractus, et aliquot pugionibus confossus, misere periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evasit ægre, sed paulo post ex vulnere est mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Blacke*, (niger, Swartz,) papistarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in aulâ occiditur:

> Sic niger hic nebulo, nigrâ quoque morte peremptus,
> Invitus nigrum subito descendit in orcum.

Consiliarii, qui tum simul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibusdam arduis consultarent, audientes has cædes, (nam prius nihil tale sunt suspicati) alii hac, alii illac, alii e fenestris sese proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ consulebant suæ. Regina Scotiæ prin-

[77] [This letter appears to have been lost.]

[78] [This is most probably the letter signed by Bullinger only, though written in his own name and Gualter's to Horne, Grindal, and Parkhurst, dated May 3, 1566. It is printed in English in the Appendix to the Zurich Letters, 1558–1579, Letter IV. p. 356. The original is printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Strype's Annals. Number XXVI. p. 67.]

cipem peperit: et cum antea maritum (nescio quas ob causas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, suum ex patre fratrem, quem antea exosum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec solum illum, sed omnes (utinam verum esset) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus sopiebatur, denuo caput exerit.

Cum hæc scriberem, ecce Scotus quidam e patriâ profugiens, vir bonus et doctus, narravit mihi, reginam ante decem hebdomadas puerum peperisse; nec dum esse baptizatum. Rogo causam: respondet, Reginam velle filium in summo templo, Edenburgi cum multarum missarum celebratione tingi. At Edenburgenses id omnino non permittent: nam mori potius malunt, quam pati, ut abominandæ missæ in suas ecclesias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edenburgenses, ne illa e Galliâ auxiliares vocet copias, ut facilius evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis fratribus. In mandatis dedit cuidam pio comiti, ut Knoxum apud se manentem, ex ædibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura scribere non possum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plene convalui.

Est hæc scribendo debilitata manus.

361 Vale, carissime mi Bullingere. Salutem quæso adscribas omnibus tuis atque adeo omnibus piis, meo nomine. Dominus suâ dextrâ protegat ditionem Tigurinorum.

Raptim Ludhamiæ, 21 Augusti 1566.

Tuus,
Johannes Parkhurstus, N.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Henrico Bullingero.*

## Number XCII. [p. 323.]

*A letter of Grindal's to Bullinger, giving an account of the state of affairs both in England and Scotland; and of the killing of signor David.*

Salutem in Christo.

Clarissime D. Bullingere, ac frater in Christo carissime,

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXIII. p. 99.]

D. JOHANNES Abelus tradidit mihi literas tuas D. Wintoniensi, Norwicensi et mihi communiter inscriptas, una cum scripto vestro de re vestiariâ: quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintoniensem et Norwicensem statim transmisi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod nostrarum ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad nostros de rebus controversis scribuntur.

Vix credibile est, quantum hæc controversia, de rebus nihili, ecclesias nostras perturbârit, et adhuc aliquâ ex parte perturbat. Multi ex ministris doctioribus videbantur ministerium deserturi. Multi etiam ex plebe contulerunt consilia de secessione a nobis faciendâ, et occultis cœtibus cogendis; sed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad saniorem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem literæ vestræ, plenæ pietatis ac prudentiæ, plurimum momenti attulerunt: nam eas Latine, atque Anglice, typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex ministris, vestro judicio atque auctoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora consilia de deserendo ministerio. Sed et ex plebe quamplurimi mitius sentire cœperunt, postquam intellexerunt nostros ritus a vobis (qui iisdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari impietatis, quod ante publicatas vestras literas, nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore sententiâ; et in his D. Humfredus et Sampsonus etc. Nihil vero esset facilius, quam regiæ majestati 362
eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud serenissimam reginam istâ contentione irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc episcopi sumus, (eos

dico qui in Germaniâ et ceteris locis exulaverant) in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cum illud a reginâ et statibus in comitiis regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis consiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deserere ecclesias propter ritus non adeo multos, eosque per se non impios; præsertim quum pura evangelii doctrina nobis integra ac libera maneret, in quâ ad hunc usque diem, (utcunque multi multa in contraria moliti sunt) cum vestris ecclesiis, vestrâque Confessione nuper editâ, plenissime consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri consilii: nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ et confirmatæ sunt ecclesiæ, quæ alioqui ecceboliis, Lutheranis, et semi-papistis, prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ vero istorum intempestivæ contentiones de adiaphoris (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter fratres.

Sed de nostris rebus hactenus. In Scotiâ non sunt res tam bene constitutæ, quam esset optandum. Retinent quidem adhuc ecclesiæ puram evangelii confessionem; sed tamen videtur Scotiæ regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut sex aut septem missæ papisticæ, singulis diebus in aulâ suâ publice fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admissis, quum antea unicâ, câque privatim habitâ, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita est reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia evangelii ministris persolverentur: at ipsa jam integro biennio nihil solvit. Johannem Knoxum, Reginâ urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit minister, non ita pridem ejecit, neque exorari potest ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publice tamen, extra aulam, nihil hactenus est innovatum; et proceres regni, nobiles item, ac cives, multo maximâ ex parte evangelio nomen dederunt ac multa, magnaque constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his præcipuus est, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murraiæ comes, reginæ frater nothus, vir pius, ac magnæ apud suos auctoritatis. Perscribitur etiam ad me ex Scotiâ, reginæ cum rege marito pessime convenire. Causa hæc est: fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, a cardinale Lotharingo reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum reginæ a secretis atque intimis esset consiliis, fere solus omnia admini-

strabat, non consulto rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc male habebat regem. Itaque factâ conspiratione cum nobilibus quibusdam, et aulicis suis, Italum illum reginæ opem frustra implorantem ex ipsius conspectu abripi, et statim indictâ causâ multis pugionum ictibus perfodi, atque interfici curavit. Hujus tam immanis facti memoriam regina, tametsi nuper filium regi perperierit, ex animo deponere non potest.

Hæc paulo verbosius de Scotiâ, ex quâ fortassis raro ad vos scribitur.

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos collegas tuos, meo nomine 363
salutes. Dominus te, nobis et ecclesiæ suæ, quam diutissime conservet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,
Edmundus Grindallus
episcopus Londiniensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo, D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo, ac fratri in Domino carissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

## Number XCIII. [p. 324.]

*A part of Grindal's letter to Bullinger, of the affairs of Scotland.*

——Scotia jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ rex (uti te audivisse existimo) decimo Februarii elapsi, in horto quodam, hospitio suo quod extra aulam habebat adjacente, inventus est mortuus: de genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incensis vasis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ sub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex industriâ reposita fuerant, ædes eversas atque ipsum in hortum proximum projectum fuisse. Alii vero intempestâ nocte vi extractum e cubiculo, et postea strangulatum, ac tum demum incenso pulvere ædes disjectas fuisse affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes suspectus fuit comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic comiti, postquam uxorem legitimam interveniente auctoritate archiepiscopi S. Andreæ repudiâsset, decimo quinto Maii nupsit Scotiæ regina, atque eundem ex comite Orchadum, ducem creavit. Paulo ante hoc matrimonium omnes fere regni proceres, quum in cædem regis inquisitionem institui viderent, discesserunt ex aulâ, et seorsum apud Sterlynum oppidum, conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis indiciis nefandam hanc cædem a Bothwellio perpetratam fuisse, compertum est. Itaque collecto exercitu ipsum comprehendere satagunt, Bothwellius vero dat
364 se in fugam: sed quo profugerit, adhuc nescitur. Reginam alii aiunt obsideri in arce quâdam, alii vero in arce Edinburgensi, tanquam necis mariti consciam, captivam detineri asserunt. Quomodocunque sit, infames illæ nuptiæ, non possunt non in aliquam diram tragœdiam desinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus efficiam brevi ut cognoscas.

Ex MSS. Tigur. [Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1558–1579. Ep. LXXIX. p. 114.]

De persecutionibus Flandriæ nihil scribo, quod eas vos non latere existimem: multa apud nos jactata sunt de obsessâ Genevâ, sed spero vana esse. Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam, nobis et ecclesiæ incolumem conservet.

Londini, 21 Junii, 1567.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino
Edmundus Grindallus
episcopus Londinensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo, D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo, et fratri in Christo carissimo.*

*Tiguri.*

This being the last of the letters sent me from Zurich, which I have put in this Collection, I add to it the attestation sent me from thence, that the copies were faithfully taken from the originals, and that they were carefully collated with them.

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*The attestation of the burgomaster and council of Zurich, of the faithfulness of the copies of the letters sent me from the MSS. that lie there.* 365

Consul et senatus civitatis Thuricensis Helvetiorum vulgo Zurich dictæ, præsentibus hisce confitemur ac notum facimus, Apographa illa ex originalibus in archivis civitatis nostræ asservatis literis, quæ tempore reformationis ab ecclesiâ Anglicanâ ad nostræ ecclesiæ tunc temporis ministros et vice versâ emanavere, ducta et transumpta, omni diligentiâ et fidelitate descripta esse, ut factâ in cancellariâ nostrâ accuratâ collatione, copias originalibus de verbo ad verbum ubique concordare repertum fuerit, quibus apographis proinde plenaria fides tuto adhiberi possit. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes hasce exhiberi, civitatis nostræ sigillo muniri, et a jurato secretario

nostro subscribi mandavimus, die decimo Julii, anno a nata salute millesimo, septingentesimo, decimo tertio.

Beatus Hourhalbius,
Reipublicæ Thuricensis archigrammaticus.
Manu propriâ subscribsi.

## Number XCIV. [p. 327.] 366

*A relation of Mary Queen of Scotland's misfortunes, and of her last will, in the Life of Cardinal Laurea, written by the abbot of Pignerol his secretary. Printed at Bologna, anno* 1599.[79]

[p. 25.] Atqui tunc in Scotiâ tam scelestum, tamque nefarium facinus commissum est, ut illud reminisci, nedum enarrare animus quodammodo exhorreat.

Rex, variolarum (ut vulgo aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortassis uxorem contagione contaminaret, se in ædes a regiis ædibus Edimburgi sejunctas receperat; ubi, simul ac convalescere cæpit, ab uxore sæpius invisitur, quodam autem die cum simul cœnâssent, atque in multam noctem sermonem, lusumque protraxissent, quo minus itidem simul cubarent, excusationem affert Regina, quod sponsam quandam e nobilibus suis mulieribus eâ primum nuptiarum nocte usque ad cubile honoris gratiâ esset comitatura: quem morem superiores reginæ observare semper consueverant. Vix regina discesserat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos subter fundamentum domûs conjectus, totum ædificium continuo dejicit, ipsumque regem opprimit: quamvis nonnulli non ruinâ interemptum, sed, dum per posticum primo circa ædes audito armorum strepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, una cum familiari quodam strangulatum, moxque ædes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuisse malint. Plane

[79] [The volume from which these extracts are made is a small 4to of 86 pages, besides 8 pages of title and dedication, entitled, Vita Vincentii Laurei S. R. E. Cardinalis Montis Regalis, Ruggerio Tritonio Pinaroli Abbate Auctore. Ad illustriss. ac Reverendiss. Alexandrum Perettum Card. Montaltum. Bononiæ Apud Hæredes Ioannis Rossii. CIↃ IↃ IC. *Superiorum permissu.* The dedication, by Robertus Titius, is dated Bononiâ Sexto Idus Aprilis CIↃ IↃ IC. There is a copy in the Museum, and also in the Bodleian.]

constat, exangue regis corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantummodo circa collum maculam habuisse. Indignissimâ hâc regis divulgatâ cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidam iniquos in reginam sermones jacere; alii per injuriam libellos edere: nonnulli comitem Bodvellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuisse comperierant, non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carnificem accusare; adeo interdum vulgus acutissime indagare, atque odorari omnia solet. Bodvellius, licet hæreticus, reginæ tamen studiosissimus, fidelissimusque semper extiterat: nuper eam gravissimo illo seditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipsâ denique perdite amabatur. Quamobrem in spem adductus fore ut reginam ipsam in matrimonio haberet, primo uxòri propriæ (quasi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium misit, deinde regi necem crudeliter machinatus est. Regina post improbissimos de eâ, Bodvellioque rumores dissipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo statuit recedendum, ac se una cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; statuto prius (ut simile vero videtur) quid inter ipsam et Bodvellium foret postea transigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egressa regina, venatum prodire simulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex insidiis, ducentis stipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere visus est. Ergo regina, una cum
367 Bodvellio in arcem regressa, confestim eum Orcadum ducem, moxque maritum suum esse declarat, verum nuptiæ illæ neutiquam faustæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt: quippe quæ non matrimonii dignitate, sed indigni facinoris societate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moraviensis e Scotiâ aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occasio daretur, turbas, novasque rixas faceret. Huic quam facillimum fuit sponte omnium in reginam Bodvelliumque irâ accensos animos acrius inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulenteque, exercitu Edimburgi comparato, subito Strivelinum versus castra moventur. Id ubi regina intellexit, secum mulieres tantum, paucosque aulicos homines adducens, obviam prodeundum duxit; venienti debitâ cum reverentiâ assurrexerunt. Interrogati, quânam de causâ armati illuc accessissent, non alia respondisse feruntur, nisi ut atrocem injuriam a Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, et indignam regis necem, vimque ipsimet reginæ illatam vendicarent. At

regina noxam Bodvellii purgare; nihil non ipsâ assentiente commissum. Quo sermone adeo sunt commoti, et exarserunt, ut omnes illico uno ore acclamaverint, *Et tu igitur, domina, apud nos captiva eris.* Nec mora, ad arcem insulæ intra lacum Levinum in custodiam mittunt; uno ei tantum lixâ, duabusque infimæ conditionis mulierculis, ad ei ministrandum concessis.

*Towards the end of the book comes what follows.*

[p. 72.] —— Unum, hoc loco, non videtur silentio prætereundum: quod cum Sixti pontificis jussu, regni Scotiæ, atque in primis reginæ Mariæ res in urbe protegendi munus suscepisset, accidit, ut infelix regina pridie, quam securi in Angliâ feriretur, supremas tabulas Gallicâ linguâ, manuque propriâ conficeret. Quibus primo, se religionis catholicæ studiosissimam semper fuisse professa est; deinde cavit, ne ad filium principem, si falsam hæresis, quam animo imbiberat, persuasionem non exuisset, Anglici regni hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret; sed loco sui ad Philippum, Hispaniarum regem catholicum pertineret. Hasce tabulas cum Vincentius cardinalis accepisset, mirâ diligentiâ recognoscendas curavit, ut ad reginæ ultimam voluntatem aperiendam fidemque faciendam sufficerent. Nam et cum litteris ab eâdem reginâ prius acceptis contulit, et non a se solum, verum etiam a Ludovico Audoeno, Anglo, episcopo Cassanensi, pio et integerrimo homine, voluit subsignari: sicque firmatas, ac tanquam publicâ authoritate roboratas, comiti Olivario, Hispaniarum regis oratori, ad ipsumet regem fideliter transmittendas dedit.[80]

[80] [See Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 13. After referring to Thuanus, lib. 86, who he says wrongly calls the author Tritonius, he adds that the author of the Life of Vincent Laurea was his secretary, Roger Creighton, a Scotchman.]

368 ## Number XCV. [p. 328[81].]

*A bond of association, upon Mary queen of Scotland's resigning the crown in favour of her son.*

*An original, in the library of [the University of] Glasgow.*

We which have subscribed the underwritten bond, understanding that the queen's majesty willing nothing more earnestly, nor that in her lifetime her maist dear son, our native prince, be placed and inaugurate in the kingdom of this his native country and realm, and be obeyed as king by us, and others his subjects: and being wearied of the great pains and travails taken by her in her government thereof, has by her letters demitted and renounced, and given power thereby to demit and renounce the said government of this realm, lieges and subjects thereof, in favour of her said son, our native prince: to the effect he may be inaugurate therein, the crown royal put upon his head, and be obeyed in all things as king and native prince thereof, as her highness' letters passed thereupon bears. Therefore, and because it is one of the most happy things that can come to any people or country, to be governed and ruled by their own native king; we, and each one of us, which has subscribed these presents, by the tenor hereof, promises, binds, and obliges us, faithfully to convene and assemble ourselves at the burgh of Sterling, or any other place to be appointed, to the effect foresaid; and there concur, assist and fortify our said native king and prince, to the establishing, planting and placing of him in his kingdom, and putting of the crown royal thereof upon his head, and in the fear of our God being instructed and teached by his and all other

[81] [This document appears in Anderson's Collections relating to the history of Mary Queen of Scotland, Edinb. 1727. vol. ii. p. 231. It was correctly printed with only three or four mistakes by the author, with the exception of the Scottish spelling, which he has occasionally represented, but with an average mistake in every other word.]

laws, shall give our oath of fidelity for homage, and lawful and dutiful obedience, to be made by us to him during his grace's lifetime, as it becomes faithful, Christian, and true subjects to do to their native king and prince. And farther, that we shall with all our strength and forces promote, concur, fortify and assist, to the promotion and establishing of him in his kingdom and government, as becomes faithful and true subjects to do to their prince, and to resist all such as would oppone them thereto, or make any trouble or impediment to him therein, and shall do all other things that becomes faithful and Christian subjects to do to their native king and prince. In witness of the which thing, we have subscribed these presents with our 369
hands, at Edinburgh, the —— day of ————, the year of God one thousand five hundred three score seven years[82].

Signed by

1. James Regent,
2. Huntlye,
3. Ar. Argyll,
4. Athol,
5. Morton,
6. Mar,
7. Glencarn,
8. Erroll,
9. Bowchan,
10. J. Grahame,
11. Williame L. Borthuik,
12. Patryk L. Lyndsay.
13. Alex. L. Hume,
14. W. L. Ruthuen,
15. L. Sanquhar,
16. Sempyll,
17. Lorde Innermeth,
18. Vehiltre,
19. Jhon L. Glammis,
20. Allan Lord Cathcart,
21. Henry Lord Methuen,
22. Hew Lord Fraseire of Louat,
23. Patryk Lord Grey,
24. Michael Lord Carleyll, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
25. Alexander Bishop of Galloway,
26. Robert Commendator of Dunfermling,

[82] [Anderson says, p. 240, "This bond is signed by the nobility and gentlemen without observing any order. They began to sign upon the 25th day of July 1567, and continued to sign as they came in till the December following that the parliament met." This bond, commonly called *the second band*, was engrossed in the books of Privy Council and subjoined to the act following."—This act was extracted from the Records of Privy Council Edin. 25 July 1567, which he says, in the contents at the beginning of the volume, "now lie in the Signet office at Edinburgh." These Records are now preserved in Her Majesty's General Register House.]

27. Alexander Commendator of Culross,
28. Drybruch,
29. Adam Commendator of Cambuskynet,
30. Jhone Erskyn,
31. Robert Minister of Foylfurd,
32. Jhone Wishart,
33. Georg Stratoun,
34. Johnne Craigtoun,
35. Ma. of Newbotll,
36. James Steuart,
37. Bukclewth, Knycht,
38. Tulibardin, Comptrollar,
39. Garlis,
40. W. Maitland,
41. Jo. Ballenden,
42. Sir J. Balfour,
43. Walter Ker of Cesfurd,
44. Drumlanrig,
45. Thomas Ker,
46. Craigmiller,
47. Caprintoun,
48. Blairquhan,
49. Mochrum,
50. David Spens of Wormistoun, Knycht,
51. Robert Stewart of Rossyth,
52. Patrik of Howistown, Knycht,
53. Patrik Lermonth of Dersi,
54. Bargany,
55. James Chalmer of Gatgirth,
56. James Haliburtoun,
57. Johnne Fullartoun of Dreghorn,
58. Shausnok,
59. Canynghim-heid,
60. George Corre of Kelwood,
61. Apylgirth,
62. Jhone Shaw of Sahy,
63. W. Kyrkaldy zonger,
64. Jhone Lokhart of Bar,
65. Hew Wallace of Carnyll,
66. David Durie of that Ilk,
67. James Dalrwmpyll of Staor,
68. Androw Murray of Aringask,
69. Robert Murray of Abircardny,
70. William Moncreif zonger,
71. Jhone Cathcart of Cariltoun,
72. Edmistoun,
73. Quhittingham,
74. Melross,
75. George Houm of Spoot,
76. Jhone Maluill of Raith,
77. Andro Ker of Fawdensyd,
78. Gilbert Kennedy of Dalquharan,
79. John Blair of that Ilk,
80. Jhone Shaw of Grenok,
81. Jhone Cuningham of Drumquhissyll,
82. Thomas Dishington,
83. N. Borthuik of Gardinshall,
84. James Meldrum,
85. Henry Grahame,

86. Jhone Menteth of The Kers,
87. M. Wylliam Lundy,
88. Wilzem Conynghem of Cragenis,
89. J. Mowngumrie Fiar of Hoslout,
90. Andro Wod of Largo,
91. Jhone Colless,
92. Jhone Brisbin,
93. Walt. Leslie of that Ilk,
94. Jo. Foularton,
95. Jhone Lowell, with my Hand,
96. Jhone Sympyl of Fouilwid,
97. Gilbert Ogiluy of that Ilk,
98. Pittincreiff,
99. George Buchquhanan of that Ilk,
100. David Tyre of Drumkylbo,
101. Arthur Forbes,
102. Jhon Somerwell of Cambusnathan,
103. Walt. M'Cawlay of Arincapill,
104. Adam ..... of .....
105. Alexander Trayle of Blebo.
106. James Sandilandis,
107. James Forrester,
108. Henry Foulis of Colintoun,
109. Georgius Towrs,
110. James Heriot of Trabrown.
111. Jhone Mowbray of Barnebowgall.
112. George Ramsey of Dalhusay,
113. William Murray of Touchadam,
114. James Hamylton of Kyncawill,
115. Jhone Edmistoun of that Ilk, Knycht,
116. Willem Wauchop,
117. Jhone Pennycuik of that Ilk,
118. David Pringill,
119. Andro M'Anpherson of Colraun,
120. Robert Lauson of Humbey,
121. Wylzem Durham of Grange,
122. Alexander Guthre of that Ilk, Fiar,
123. Toms Kyndy,
124. David Lyndesay of ....
125. James Ramsey of ....
126. Robert Campbell of Kyngscleuth,
127. Jhone Howm of Coldenknows,
128. David Howme of Wedderburne,
129. John Rayntoun of Billie,
130. David Syntcler of Blans,
131. William Chirnsyde of Eist-Nisbett,
132. Jhone Swyntoun of that Ilk,
133. John Howm of Blakitr,
134. George Hvme of Atoune,
135. Mathew Sinclar of Langfarmacus,

136. Patrik Cokburn of Clarkyntoun,
137. Alexander Cokburn of that Ilk,
138. Thomas Ker of Mersingtoun,
139. David Edingtoun of that Ilk,
140. Williame Sinclar of Herdmeistoun,
141. . . . . Lauder of the Bass,
142. John Cokburn of Ormystoun,
143. George Hume of Broxmuth,
144. Peter Hay of Meginis,
145. Patrik Congiltoun of that Ilk,
146. William Bonar of Rosse,
147. G. Dundas of that Ilk,
148. James Cokburn of Langtown.
149. William Ridpath, zounger, of that Ilk,
150. Thomas Fawsyd of that Ilk,
151. Robert Lyll of Stanipecht,
152. Alexander Dalmahoy of that Ilk,
153. James Ramsey of Cokpen,
154. W. Saintclair of Roislin,
155. Olyfar Sanklar of Quhaytkirk,
156. Alexander Hamiltoun of Innarwik,
157. Jhon Sydserf,
158. Thomas Makdowall,
159. Robyn Ker of The Wodhede,
160. Thomas Ker of Fernhest,
161. Andro Ker of Lytilden,
162. Gylbert Ker of Prudensyd, Knycht,
163. William Dowglas of Cavers,
164. Thomas Turnbull of Badroule, Knycht,
165. Jhone Turnbull of Phillophaw,
166. Robert Grierson of Lag,
167. Lochinwer,
168. Cardeness,
169. Bomby,
170. Brochtoun,
171. Johne Gordoun, zounger of Crechlaw,
172. Closburn,
173. J. Cranstoun,
174. Charles Murray of Cokpuill,
175. Jhone Charteris of Amesfeild,
176. Henry Hepburn of Fortoun, with my Hand at the Pen,
177. Alexander Creichton of Newhall, with my Hand at the Pen, Alex. Hay Notarius,
178. Thomas Hanyn,
179. Will. Scott. of Thirlstane, with my Hand at the Pen,
180. Jhone Stewart of Craighall, with my Hand at the Pen,

181. James Noble of Ardardan, with my Hand at the Pen,
182. Tho. Powntoun Provest of Hadentoun,
183. James Howme Belzie,
184. Bernard Thomsoun Balie, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
185. Rob. Howm of . . . . .
186. Geo. Moutra, zonger, of Seyfeld, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay,
187. And. Fairny of that Ilk, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
188. Mr. Jhone Logan, and
189. Patrik Locht, and
190. Patrik Hwm, Commissioners for Leyth,
191. Pat. Wod of Bonytoun,
192. Jhone Sumerill of . . . . .
193. James . . . . .
194. Walter Ker of Dolphingstoun, and
195. James Rig, Provest of Drumfress, Commissioners for Drumfress,
196. Tho. Kirkpatrik of Alisland,
197. Wilzem Banantyn of Corehous,
198. Jhon Makgyll,
199. Wilzem . . . . of . . . .
200. Jhone of . . . . .
201. Al. Cunyngham of Corsell,
202. Jhon . . . . . of . . . . .
203. Pat. Sleich of Minloche, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay.
204. David Barclay of Cullerne,
205. Barnbarrow,
206. Myrtoun,
207. Nic. Rutherfurd of Hundelie, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay,
208. Jhon Turnbull of Mynto, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
209. Jhon Mow of that Ilk, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
210. Jhon Haitlie,
211. John Rutherfurd of Hunthill, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
212. Pat. Frasere of Owertoun, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
213. Wil. Kirkpatrik of Kirkmichell, with my Hand at the Pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
214. Pat. M'Kei of Larg,
215. J. Wawss,
216. Al. Blair, zonger, of Balthyok [83].

[83] [These names have been printed from Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 233—240, and subsequently collated with the originals. The author's account of the signatures was as follows :—]

'James Regent. Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar.

Glencairn. Errol. Buchan. Graham. Alexander lord Home. William lord Ruthven. Lord Sanquhar. Ihon lord Glamis. Patrick Lord Lindsey. Michael lord Carlisle, with my hand at the pen. Alexander Hay, notarius. William lord Borthwick. Lord Innermaith. Ucheltrie Sempill. Henry Lord Methven. Allan lord Cathcart. Patrick lord Gray. Robert com. of Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander com. of Culross. Adam com. of Cambuskenneth. Dryburgh. Master of Montrose. Alexander Bishop of Galoway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden. comptroller; with eighteen more."

## Number XCVI. [p. 328.]

*Bond to the king, and to the earl of Murray, as regent during his infancy: registered in the council-books on the 5th of April 1569.*

[Registrum Secreti Concilii, Acta Jun. 1567,–Dec. 1569, pp. 112, 113.]

Us, and every one of us undersubscribing, shall in all time coming, like as we do presently, reverence, acknowledge and recognosce the most excellent and mighty prince James the Sixth, by the grace of God king of Scottis, our only sovereign lord, and his dearest uncle, James earl of Murray, lord Abirnethie, regent to his highness his realm, and lieges thereof, during his majesty's minority. His highness his said regent, and his majesty's authority, we shall serve and obey, as becomes dutiful subjects, our lands and lives in the defence and advancement thereof, we shall bestow and wair. The scathe, harm, or subversion of the same, we shall never know nor procure by any means, direct or indirect. All former bands, for obedience of any other authority, subscribed or made by us in any times, bygone, contrarious or prejudicial to his highness, his said regent and authority, we renounce and discharge for ever: affirming and swearing solemnly, upon our faiths and honours, to observe and keep this our declaration and plain profession, and every point thereof, by God himself, and as we will answer at his general judgment: wherein if we fail, we are content to be counted faithless, false, perjured and defamed for ever; beside the ordinary pain of the laws to be 370
executed upon us, without favour, as a perpetual memory of our unnatural defection, and inexcusable untruth. In witness whereof we have subscribed thir presents with our hands as follows, at the days and times particularly under specified[84].

Huntly Craufurd G. Erll of Cassillis
Sanquhar Saltoun James lord Ogilvy
Laurence lord Oliphant Deir
Johne Maister Forbes John Grant of Frewchy

Johne Ogilvy of Innerkeiour Coline Mckenze of Kintaill
Archibald Ogilvy of Lawtoun Alexr. Ross of Balnagowne

[84] [These dates are not given in the Register.]

Lawchlane McIntosh of Dunnachtyne
William Campbell tutour of Cesnok
Patrik Chene of Essilmont
Walter Kynnard of Cowbyn
James Innes of Drany
Walter Vrquhart Shereff of Cromarty
Robert Monro of Fowlis
Alexander Sutherland of Duffus
John Maitland zounger of Auchingassill
William Oudny of that Ilk
Alexander Seytoun apperand of Meldrum
Thomas Copland of Vdauch
William Leslie of Telefowir
Johne Chene apperand of Straloch
David Gardin of Leyis
James Gardin
David Gardin of Connosch
Adam Gordoun
Robert Lesley
Hucheoun Ross of Kilrawock
David Grahame of Fintrie
Johne Gordoun of Carnburrow
Alexander Burnet of Craigour
Johne Ross of Hanyng
Patrik Congiltoun of that Ilk
Hew Kennedy of Barquhany
James Creichtoun of Carco
William Rait of Halgrein
Hew Kennedy of Girvanmanis, knycht
Y. McKay
William Gordoun of Craig of Auchindoir
Patrik Leith of Harthill
James Gordoun of Creychy
Mr. Duncane Forbes
Walter Barclay of Towy
Michael Fraser of Stanywood
Johne Carnegy
Johne Leslie of that Ilk
Wm. Vrry of Petfechy
George Gordoun of Lesmoir
Robert Turing of Foverane
James Gordoun of Methlik
William Cheine of Arnaige
William Seytoun of Meldrum
George Maxwell of Newwerk
Alexander Leslie of Warderis
James Ogilvy of Balfour
Vchtred McDowell of Garthland
Andrew Meldrum of Darley
Maister George Gordoun
Walter Bard of Ordingref[85]

[85] The names printed by the author at the end of this document were as follows:] Huntley. Crafurd. Cassilis. Sanquhar. Saltoun. James lord Ogilvie. Laurance lord Oliphant. John Mr. Forbes. With thirty-six more.]

## Number XCVII. [p. 330.]

A
DECLARATION OF
THE CAUSES MOOVING
THE QUEENE OF ENGLAND
to give aide to the Defence of
*the People afflicted and*
oppressed in the lowe
*Countries.*

Imprinted at Lon-
don by Christopher Barker
Printer to the Queenes most
*excellent Maiestie.*

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Imprinted at Lon-
don by Christopher Barker
Printer to the Queene of England
her most excellent Maiestie,
1585.

Kings and princes, sovereigns are to yield account of their actions only to Almighty God, the King of kings.

ALTHOUGH kings and princes, sovereigns, owing their homage and service only unto the Almighty God, the King of all kings, are in that respect not bound to yield account, or render the reasons of their actions to any others, but to God their only sovereign Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and Christian monarchies, the same Lord God having committed to us the sovereignty of this realm of England, and other our

dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majesty) we are, notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time, specially moved (for divers reasons hereafter briefly remembered) to publish, not only to our own natural loving subjects, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such princes and states as are our confederates, or have for their subjects cause of commerce with our countries and people, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable grounds we are moved to give aid to our next neighbours, the natural people of the Low Countries, being by long wars, and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentably afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual servitude.

Natural causes of the ancient continual traffic betwixt the people of England and them of the Low Countries.

First, It is to be understood, (which percase is not perfectly known to a great number of persons) that there hath been, time out of mind, even by the natural situation of those Low Countries, and our realm of England, one directly opposite to the other; and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continual traffic and commerce betwixt the people of England and the natural people of these Low Countries; and
371 so continued in all ancient times when the several provinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by several lords, and not united together, as of late years they have been by intermarriages; and at length by concurrences of many and sundry titles have also been reduced to be under the government of their lords that succeeded to the dukedom of Burgundy, whereby there hath been in former ages many special alliances and confederations, not only betwixt the kings of England our progenitors, and the lords of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents; but also betwixt the very natural subjects of both countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other commonalties of the great cities and poor towns of either country reciprocally by special obligations and stipulations under their seals interchangeably, for maintenance both of commerce and intercourse of merchants; and also of special mutual amity to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties, as well ecclesiastical as secular: and very express provision in such treaties con-

Confederations both betwixt the kings of England, and lords of the Low Countries, and also the subjects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by special obligations interchangeably, for mutual favours, and friendly offices.

tained for mutual favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutual bonds there hath continued perpetual unions of the peoples' hearts together, and so by way of continual intercourses, from age to age the same mutual love hath been inviolably kept and exercised, as it had been by the work of nature, and never utterly dissolved; nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kings, and the lords of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have been at difference by sinister means of some other princes their neighbours, envying the felicity of these two countries.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the kings of England, and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

And for maintenance and testimony of these natural unions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetual amity, there are extant sundry authentic treaties and transactions for mutual commerce, intercourse and strait amity of ancient times: as for example, some very solemnly accorded in the times of king Henrie the VIth our progenitor, and Philip the IInd, duke of Burgundie, and inheritor to the county of Flanders by the lady Margaret his grandmother, which was above one hundred and forty years past; and the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father to the king of Spain's grandmother, and husband to the lady Margaret, sister to our great grandfather king Edward the IVth: and after that, of new oftentimes renewed by our most noble and sage grandfather king Henrie the VIIth, and the archduke Philip, grandfather to the king of Spayne now being: and in later times, often renewed betwixt our father of noble memory king Henrie the VIIIth, and Charles the Vth, emperor of Almaigne, father also to the present king of Spaine.

Conventions for the subjects of either side, to show mutual favours one to the other.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amity and mutual commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in express words, by conventions, concords, and conclusions, that the natural people and subjects of either side should show mutual favours and duties one to the other; and should safely, freely, and securely commerce together in every their countries, and so hath the same mutual 372
and natural concourse and commerce been without interruption continued in many ages, far above the like example of any other countries in Christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and enriching

of their people, until of late years that the king of Spayne departing out of his Low Countries into Spayne, hath been (as is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spayne, to appoint Spaniardes, foreigners, and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in wars than in peaceable government; and some of them notably delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest governors of all his said Low Countries, contrary to the ancient laws and customs thereof, having great plenty of noble, valiant, and faithful persons naturally born, and such as the emperor Charles, and the king himself had to their great honours used in their service, able to have been employed in the rule of those countries. But these Spaniardes being mere strangers, having no natural regard in their government to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and natural manner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles; yea, and as his son king Philip himself had, whilst he remained in those countries, and used the counsels of the states, and natural of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but, contrariwise, these Spaniardes being exalted to absolute government by ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the ancient laws and liberties of all the countries; and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed, and destroyed without order of law, within the space of a few months, many of the most ancient and principal persons of the natural nobility that were most worthy of government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruel persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion, yet they spared not to deprive very many catholics and ecclesiastical persons of their franchises and privileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobility, none was in the whole country more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the very glory of that country, who neither for his singular victories in the service of the king of Spayne can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the cruelty used for his destruction, to be but for ever lamented in the hearts of the natural people of that country. And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in servitude to Spayne; these foreign governors have by long intestine war, with multitude of

Spaniards and strangers lately appointed governors in the Lowe Countries, to the violation of the liberties of the country.

The destruction of the nobility, and the people of the countries by Spanish government.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glory of those countries.

Spaniardes, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries, (which with their riches, by common estimation, answered the emperor Charles equally to his Indias) in a manner desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruel manners of death, a great part of the natural people, and now the rich towns and strong places being desolate of their natural inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spanyardes.

The rich townes and strengthes with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniards.

All which pitiful miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient time have been at frequent discord with them, through natural compassion very greatly pitied, which appeared specially this present year, when the French king pretended to have received them to his protection, had not (as the states of the country and their deputies were answered) that certain untimely and unlooked for complots of the house of Guyse, stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne, disturbed the good and general peace of Fraunce, and thereby urged the king to forbear from the resolution he had made, not only to aid the oppressed people of the Low Countries against the Spanyardes, but also to have accepted them as his own subjects. But in very truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in Fraunce by the Frenche king, who also hath oftentimes earnestly solicited us as queen of Englande, both by message and writing to be careful of their defence: yet in respect that they were otherwise more straitly knit in ancient friendship to this realm than to any other country, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and grief generally than of our subjects of this our realm of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our realm of England, and those countries have been by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife. And for these urgent causes and many others, we have by many friendly messages and ambassadors, by many letters and writings to the said king of Spayne our brother and ally, declared our compassion of this so evil and cruel usage of his natural and loyal people, by sundry his martial governors, and other his men of war, all strangers to these his countries.

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The French king's offers to have aided and received to his subjection the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries.

The queen of Englande's continual friendly advices to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrannie of his governours.

And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his Low Countries and people, we have often, and often again most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdom and princely clemency restrain the tyranny of his governors, and cruelty of his men of war, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safety of their lives, and for continuance of their native country in their former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other foreign lord; or rather to yield themselves wholly to the sovereignty of some mighty prince, as by the ancient laws of their countries, and by special privileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirm, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choice of any other prince to be their prince and head. The proof whereof, by examples past is to be seen and read in the ancient histories of divers alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testify, Philip the duke of Burgundy came to
374 his title, from which the king of Spayne's interest is derived: but the further discussion hereof we leave to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yielding themselves in any like sort to the sovereignty of any other strange prince, certain years past, upon the earnest request of sundry of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marquis of Havery yet living, and of such others as had principal offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yielded at their importunate requests to grant them prests of money, only to continue them as his subjects, and to maintain themselves in their just defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressors, thereby staying them from yielding their subjection to any other prince from the said king of Spayne: and during the time of that our aid given to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spayne, we did freely acquaint the same king with

The queen of Englande's means used to stay the States of the Lowe Countries from yielding their subjection to any other foreign prince.

our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to command his governors and men of war, not to use such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despair of his favours, and seek some other lord.

And in these kind of persuasions and actions we continued many years, not only for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a natural disposition to have the ancient conditions of strait amity and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedom of Burgundie and the appendants, and namely with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland, and Zeland. For we did manifestly see, if the nation of Spayne should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spanyardes, being sent within these few years by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realm of Ireland, with an intent manifestly confessed by the captains, that those numbers were sent aforehand to seize upon some strength there, to the intent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did, we say again, manifestly see in what danger ourself, our countries and people might shortly be, if in convenient time we did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requests and advices given to the king of Spayne, manifestly for his own weal and honour, we found him by his council of Spayne so unwilling in any sort to incline to our friendly counsel, that his governors and chieftains in his Low Countries increased their cruelties towards his own afflicted people, and his officers in Spayne offered daily greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for traffic: yea, they of his council in Spayne would not permit our express messenger with our letters to come to the king their master's presence: a matter very strange, and against the law of nations.

The enterprise of the Spaniardes in Ireland sent by the king of Spayne and the pope.

The refusal of the queen's messenger, and her letters to the king of Spayne.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthy to be known to the king, and not unmeet now also to be declared to the world, to show both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our griefs, and to let it appear how evil we have been

The just causes of dismissing of Bernardin Mendoza out of England.

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used by his ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Although we could not have these many years past any of our servants, whom we sent at sundry times as our ambassadors to the king our good brother, as was meet, suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities offered to their families, and divers times to their own persons, by the greatest of his counsellors, so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the country, without cause given by them, or notified to us: yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time, and many years give favourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadors to us; saving only upon manifest dangerous practices, attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent-spirited person, and altogether unskilful and unapt to deal in princes' affairs being in amity; as at his return into Spayne, he was so there also reputed: the other and last was Bernardin de Mendoza; one whom we did accept and use with great favour a long time, as was manifestly seen in our court, and we think cannot be denied by himself: but yet of late years (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundry our evil disposed and seditious subjects, not only to such as lurked in our realm, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open rebels and traitors; with whom by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, he did in the end devise, how with a power of men, partly to come out of Spayne, partly out of the Low Countries, whereof he gave them great comfort in the king's name, an invasion might be made into our realm; setting down in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what numbers of men and ships, and upon what coasts, ports, and places of our realm, by special name: and who the persons should be in our realm of no small account, that should favour this invasion, and take part with the invaders; with many other circumstances, declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble us and our realm very dangerously; as hath been most clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that confederacy with him: whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his company in France; and some were taken, who confessed at

great length by writing, the whole course herein held by the said ambassador, as was manifestly of late time published to the world upon Francis Throgmorton's, a principal traitor's examination. And when we found manifestly this ambassador so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and invasion: and that for a year or more together he never brought to us any letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him, that he would by some letter from the king to us, let it appear that it was the 376
king's will that he should deal with us in his master's name, in sundry things that he propounded to us as his ambassador; which we did judge to be contrary to the king his master's will: we did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practices; and made it patent to him, how and by whom (with many other circumstances) we knew it; and therefore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content (within some reasonable time) to depart out of our realm, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people. For the which we granted him favourable conduct, both to the sea and over the sea. And thereupon we did speedily send a servant of ours into Spaine, with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparent unto him. And this was the messenger afore mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliver our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in England, by means of certain rebels, to have procured sundry invasions of our realm, by their forces out of Spaine and the Low Countries: very hard recompenses (we may say) for so many our good offices. Hereupon we hope, no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed ourselves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of ourself and our people: and finding our own dangers indeed very great and imminent, we have been the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy: for that, besides many other advices, given us both at home and from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers; we have found the general disposition of all our own faithful people, very ready in this case, and earnest, in

offering to us both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realm and themselves, evidently seen and feared, by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of war, enemies to our countries, there so near unto us. And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding, by God's special favour, in the beginning of our reign, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against us in Scotland by certain Frenchmen, who then were directed only by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their niece, the queen of Scots, with the dolphin of France: in like manner, as the offsprings of the said house have even now lately sought to attain to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for ourselves to consider; although we hope, the king our good brother professing sincere friendship towards us, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatness of that house, that neither himself nor the princes of his blood be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king and his blood) be by the said house of Guise, and their faction, disquieted or disturbed in
377 our countries. But now to return to this like example of Scotlande aforesaid, when the French had in like manner (as the Spanyardes have now of long time attempted in the Low Countries) sought by force to have subdued the people there, and brought them into a servitude to the crown of France; and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to have proceeded to a war by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our crown for their niece the queen of Scottes (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world): it pleased Almighty God, as it remaineth in good memory to our honour and comfort, to further our intention, and honourable and just actions, at that time, in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland, (being sore oppressed with the French, and universally requiring our aid,) we procured to that realm (though to our great cost) a full deliverance of the force of strangers, and danger of servitude, and restored peace to the whole country; which hath continued

The queen of Englande's proceeding, for the delivery of Scotland from the servitude wherein the house of Guyse meant to have brought it.

there ever since many years; saving that at some time of partialities of certain of the noblemen, (as hath been usual in that country, in the minority of the young king) there hath risen some inward troubles, which (for the most part) we have, in favour of the king and his governors, used means to pacify: so as at this day, such is the quietness in Scotland, as the king our dear brother and cousin, by name James the VIth, a prince of great hope for many good princely respects, reigneth there in honour and love of his people, and in very good and perfect amity with us and our country. And so our actions, at that time, came to so good success, by the goodness of God, as both our own realm, and that of Scotland, hath ever since remained in better amity and peace than can be remembered these many hundred years before: and yet nothing hereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the Frenche kings that have since succeeded, (which have been three in number, and all brethren,) have made and concluded divers treaties for good peace with us; which presently continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions, attempted for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the only direction of the house of Guyse.

The realm of Scotlande restored to the ancient freedom, and so possessed by the present king, by the means only of the queen of England.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by partiality, that upon the often and continual lamentable requests made to us by the universal states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other provinces with them united, (being desperate of the king of Spaynes favours,) for our succours to be yielded to them, only for their defence against the Spaniards and other strangers; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate requests and advices given to the king of Spaine, no hope of relief of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof, by daily conquests of their towns and slaughter of their people; (though in very truth, we cannot impute the increase of any late cruelties, to the person of him that now hath the title of general governor, showing his natural disposition more inclinable to mercy 378
and clemency, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniardes under him, that have been so long trained in

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certain companies of English soldiers, to the defence of the oppressed people of the Low Countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realm.

shedding of blood under the former Spanish governors:) and joining thereunto our own danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and access and planting of the great forces of the Spanyards so near to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attempts against our realm: we did therefore, by good advice, and after long deliberation, determine to send certain companies of soldiers to aid the natural people of those countries; only to defend them and their towns from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safety, to the honour of God; whom they desire to serve sincerely, as Christian people, according to his holy word, and to enjoy their ancient liberties for them and their posterity, and so consequently to preserve and continue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

Three special things reasonably desired by the Queen of England.

1. The end of wars, with restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient liberties.

2. Surety from invasion of her own realm.

3. And renewing of the mutual traffick between the countries.

And so, we hope, our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be, by God's favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons, (saving of the oppressors themselves and their partisans,) in that we mean not hereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two roots of all injustice,) to make any particular profit hereof to ourself or to our people: only desiring at this time to obtain (by God's favour) for the countries a deliverance of them from war, by the Spaniards and foreigners; a restitution of their ancient liberties and government, by some Christian peace; and thereby, a surety for ourselves and our realm, to be free from invading neighbours; and our people to enjoy in those countries their lawful commerce, and intercourse of friendship and merchandise, according to the ancient usage and treaties of intercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earls of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

The causes of taking some towns into her majesties custody.

And though our further intention also is, or may be, to take into our guard some few towns upon the seaside next opposite to our realm, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country: yet therein considering we have no meaning at this time to take and retain the same to our own proper use; we hope that all persons will think it agreeable with good reason and princely policy that we should have the guard and use of some such places, for

sure access and recess of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals, and other things requisite and necessary, whilst it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries, for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger, and until the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppress them, and recover their ancient lawful liberties and manner of government, to live in peace as they have heretofore done, and do now most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to do; which are the very only true ends of all our actions now intended, howsoever malicious tongues may utter their cankered 379
conceits to the contrary, as at this day the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the devil hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickedness, to utter his rage against professors of Christian religion. But thereof we leave the revenge to God, the searcher of hearts, hoping that he, beholding the sincerity of our heart, will grant good success to our intentions,

whereby a Christian peace may ensue
to his divine honour, and comfort
to all them that love peace
truly, and will seek
it sincerely.

# AN ADDITION TO

## THE DECLARATION

## TOUCHING THE SLAUN-

## ders published of her

## *Maiestie.*

AFTER we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entitled *Nuouo aduiso,* directed to the archbishop of Milan, containing a report of the expugnation of Antwerpe by the prince of Parma: by the which we found ourself most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no less hateful to the world, than most repugnant and contrary to our own natural inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saved our life, being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sister's time: the other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (*as it was said.*) that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken away: and for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to justice. Now knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes: and holding nothing so dear unto us, as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blameless: we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to pass under silence,

lest for lack of answer it might argue a kind of guiltiness, and did therefore think, that what might be alleged by us for our justification in that behalf, might most aptly be joined unto this former declaration now to be published, to lay open before the world the manner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the Low Countries.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholden unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions may appear: so do we utterly deny as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life, as a person by course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried ourself towards our said sister in dutiful sort, as our loyalty was 380
never called in question, much less any sentence of death pronounced against us: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinary course of proceeding, as by process in law, by place of trial, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our quality, as it could not but have been publicly known, if any such thing had been put in execution. This then being true, we leave to the world to judge how maliciously and injuriously the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a vice that of all others we do most hate and abhor. And therefore by the manifest untruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easily discern what untruth is contained in the second, by the which we are charged to have been acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded, either of a misliking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the wars in the Low Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could never learn that he hath at any time, by act or speech, done anything that might justly breed a mislike in us towards him, much less a hatred

against his person in so high a degree, as to be either privy, or assenting to the taking away of his life: besides, he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceit, in respect of those singular rare parts we always have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great reputation as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and quality: and so have we always delivered out by speech unto the world, when any occasion hath been offered to make mention of him. Now, touching the prosecution committed unto him of the wars in the Low Countries, as all men of judgment know that the taking away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall work any end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestly known, that no man hath dealt more honourably than the said prince, either in duly observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercy where merit and desert hath craved the same: and therefore no greater impiety by any could be wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to ourself, (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him, than any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is that we, having neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the wars should cease by loss of him, should be either author, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, we refer to the judgment of such as look into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but do measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had been true that
381 we had been any way chargeable, (as the author reporteth,) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter, as by him is alleged,) would have been both produced and published; for malice leaveth nothing unsearched that may nourish the venom of that humour.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can hold in this unfortunate age, that overfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is, through the grace and goodness of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they

may rather show their wills through malice, than with just cause by desert to say ill or deface princes, either by speech or writing: assuring ourselves, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellers shall receive at the hands of the Almighty for depraving of princes and lawful magistrates, who are God's ministers, they both are, and always shall be thought by all good men, unworthy to live upon the face of the earth.

*Given at Richmount the first of October* 1585;
*and the 27th yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lady the Queene; to be published.*

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the queene of England, her most excellent majesty. 1585.[86]

[86] [The work was printed by the same printer in the same year in Italian, French, and Latin. Copies of all three are in the British Museum (598 a.) The Italian has for its title-page,—

DICHIARATIONE
DELLE CAGGI-
ONI CHE HANNO
MOSSO LA SERENIS-
sima REINE D'INGHILTERRA
a dar' aiuto all Difesa del Po-
*polo afflitto e oppresso*
*negli Paesi Bassi.*
STAMPATA
IN LONDRA DA
Christophero Barcher, Stam-
*patore della Serenissima*
*Reina d'Inghilterra.*
1585.

It is in 12mo, and consists of thirty-eight pages, besides the leaf of title.

The French copy is entitled,—

DECLARATION

DES CAUSES QUI

ONT ESMEU LA ROYNE

D'ANGLETERRE, a donner se-

cours pour la Defence du

*peuple affligé et oppressé*

*es païs bas.*

¶ IMPRIME A LON-

dres par Chrestophle Barquer, Im-

primeur pour la tres-excellente

MAIESTIE de la Royne

*D'Angleterre.*

1585.

It consists of twenty-eight pages, with eight pages of additions. The Latin copy (C. 33. a 2) consists of a title and thirty-four pages. The title is as follows:—

DECLARATIO

CAVSARVM

*QUIBUS ADDUCTA*

ANGLIAE REGINA

Belgis afflictis & oppres-

*sis, copias quasdam auxi-*

*liares miserit.*

The tract had been also printed in Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. iii. pp. 1414–1419, and has since been reprinted in Somers's Tracts, vol. i. pp. 410–419.]

# AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING

## SOME PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

## TWO VOLUMES

OF THE

## HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1. *Corrections of some mistakes in the two first volumes; sent to me by Mr. Granger, in Devonshire*[1]. 384

2. *A letter written to me by Anthony Wood, in justification of his History of the University of Oxford: with Reflections upon it, referred to Alphabetically*[2].

3. *A letter to Mr. Auzout, which was translated into French, upon his procuring for me a censure in writing, made in Paris upon the first volume of my History of the Reformation*[3].

4. *Corrections of the two volumes of the History of the Reformation*[4].

5. *Some Remarks, sent me by another hand*[5].

6. *Observations and corrections of the two volumes of that History, by Mr. Strype*[6].

[1] [These corrections, which all refer to the text of the History, have been inserted in their proper places as notes at the foot of the page.]

[2] [This has been inserted as an Appendix to the first part of the History, to which it exclusively relates.]

[3] [This also appears at the end of the part to which it belongs.]

[4] [These remarks, so far as the text of the History is concerned, have been added as notes at the foot of the page. The same remark applies to the Collection of Records, excepting only such as were mere corrections of errata which have been corrected in the text of this edition. The writer refers to the second edition of both the earlier volumes.]

[5] [This paper has been inserted as a note at p. 18 of Part I. to which it refers.]

[6] [The same observation applies to these which was made with regard to the corrections sent by Baker. Strype used the first edition of both volumes.]

*A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the Collection, with which the places in the History to which they relate are marked: the first number, with the letter* C, *is the page of the* Collection; *the second, with the letter* H, *is the page of the* History.

[The pages referred to are those of the first folio edition, as printed in the inner margin of this edition.]

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